

# SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL  
COMBINING THE JOURNAL OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY  
AND BULLETIN OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

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*An International Journal*

*Combining Journal of Applied Sociology, and  
Bulletin of Social Research*

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## SOCIETY AND THE OCCUPATIONS\*

EDWARD A. ROSS

SOCIOLOGY champions the welfare of society as a whole and would subordinate individual interests when they stand in the way of major social interests. Comte, the founder, set up the sound principle:

Every person who lives by any useful work should be habituated with regard to himself not as an individual working for his own private benefit, but as a public functionary working for the benefit of society; and to regard his wages of whatever sort as a provision made by society to enable him to carry on his labor.

The immense spread of this view in the last forty years gives ground for hoping that eventually it will be accepted everywhere.

### OCCUPATIONS FROM THE SOCIAL POINT OF VIEW

In offering for sale certain specialized services the motive is gain and there is no security that the welfare of a society will be considered; but in the degree that social consciousness develops the public reacts against callings deemed pernicious. One duty of the sociologist is to insist upon the social aspects of questionable occupations and methods and to expose repercussions which injure the public, or harm the future, or weaken the foundations of the social edifice. Thus those who take the private point of view uphold the right of the vicious freely to buy whatever

\* From the Revision of Professor Ross' *Principles of Sociology*, The Century Co., to appear in August, 1930.

ministers to their vice; those who take the public point of view remind us that the haunts of vice seek to ensnare the innocent lest their business fail as old patrons die off.

With every step in the humane campaign to lessen preventable incapacity and misery, to let no worthy person starve or die of neglect, the case becomes stronger against tolerating occupations or businesses which undermine health, efficiency or character, discourage industry, dissipate savings, or impair the will and power to safeguard the future. Stupid, indeed, would society be not to suppress lotteries, gambling resorts, betting rings, slot machines, drinking places, houses of prostitution, opium dens and the vending of narcotics and obscene matter; for each of these, owing to its endeavor to attract new customers, becomes an active center of infection in the social body.

For the sake of the future the social-minded strike at the premature employment of children in industry, the careless sacrifice of the child's school opportunities, the offering of habit-forming drugs to the young, the traffic in children for immoral purposes, the mutilating of waif or kidnapped children for begging purposes, the purveying of impure foods or drugs, the employment of young women at work which may ruin their maternal function, the clearing and cultivating of slopes too steep for permanent agriculture, reckless timber-cutting, the ruthless taking of fish and game, the wanton extirpation of birds. For in such matters *laissez-faire* is suicidal. The progress made in the last twenty-five years in winning Americans for these ideas amounts to a veritable social revolution.

However, as a result of the business class commanding the chief means of access to the public mind, the feeling is widespread that to disturb a business man making money is as foolish as to disturb bees making wax. We have not yet got far in shielding children from the inflaming picture

show, in protecting the sides of the highway from frenzied "ad" men, in saving the reading matter in periodicals from being streaked with publicity matter, in rescuing our privacy from the intrusions of "go-getters" and "super-salesmen," in opening up for the benefit of consumers the knowledge of the comparative merits of sales commodities built up in the United States Bureau of Standards, in curbing the ear-splitting din of ten thousand advertisers, or in puncturing the propaganda that it is a shame and a folly for a community to provide itself with any necessity or convenience without letting itself in for the payment of perpetual tribute in the form of profits to some group of business men. The Marxists predict that we shall make no progress on these lines under private capitalism; but we, who have seen so many antisocial businesses and business methods branded or outlawed even in our capitalistic society, shall persevere in our agitation.

#### SOCIAL RATING OF OCCUPATIONS

In tests of the social status of forty-five occupations<sup>1</sup> American children ranked "banker" first and "ditch-digger" last. Similar tests on 72 Russian children from twelve to seventeen years of age ranked "peasant" first and "banker" among the lowest. The clergyman ranked fourth with the young Americans (306 high school seniors and 62 college freshmen) but last with the young Russians. The "prosperous business man" stood sixth in the American list and forty-fourth in the Russian list. These contrasts reflect in part divergent collective judgments in America and Soviet Russia and partly the results of propaganda, in the one case by a sycophantic newspaper press and in the other case by the Communist Party.

<sup>1</sup> J. Davis, "Testing the Social Attitudes of Children in the Government Schools of Russia," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 32, pp. 947-52.

A study of the pre-vocational attitudes of 861 students<sup>2</sup> in six colleges of the University of Southern California shows that most are willing to accept *teacher, doctor, and lawyer* into their church or club, even into the family. The greatest aversion is toward *dope seller, bootlegger, hobo, and fortune teller*. Nearly all were willing to accept *day laborer, factory worker, servant and waiter* as fellow citizens but few stood ready to accept them into one's club or family. Towards the *farmer* there is little sense of social distance. The feeling toward *dance-hall keeper, jazz musician, vaudeville dancer, and player* varied with the student group, suggesting that the place of these is not settled in the *mores* or is undergoing rapid change. The antipathy to the socially-harmful groups indicates that many of the students are rating occupations from the social point of view.

#### OCCUPATIONAL PRIDE

Tolstoi uttered a profound truth when he wrote:

Every person, to act, must consider his or her activity to be important and good. Consequently, whatever the position of a man may be, he cannot help but form such a view of human life in general as will make his activity appear important and good.<sup>3</sup>

So the farmer consoles himself for his meager rewards by reflecting that but for him the cities would starve. The policeman flatters himself that no one could sleep soundly but for him. Coal miners see the limits of their job up there "where factories would stop and children would freeze unless we sent 'em their coal." The secretary of a Hoboes' Union exclaims, "The country can't get along without us! If we don't hop from the Northwest timber

<sup>2</sup> F. Wilkinson, "Social Distance between Occupations," *Sociology and Social Research*, January-February, 1929.

<sup>3</sup> *Resurrection*, Chap. XLIV.

camp in the winter to the Oklahoma wheat fields in the summer—and get there on time, mind you,—w'y crops go to waste and millions of dollars are lost."<sup>4</sup> The clergyman enjoys the role of "God's ambassador." Unappreciated school teachers find comfort in the proverb "Just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclined." Even the "madam" finds solace in the thought that but for houses of prostitution "nice women" would hardly dare venture out of doors.

#### WARPING BY OCCUPATION

Many occupations leave a recognizable mental stamp. Accustomed to make *ex-cathedra* utterances which their hearers are not in a position to challenge, clergymen are apt to develop an authoritative, "ordering—forbidding" manner. On the platform teachers of the young generally betray themselves by the naïve finality of their statements. The professional charity-worker, usually of middle-class origin and with no first-hand acquaintance with the mental processes of the working classes, slips easily into the attitude that most applicants for relief are parasites or frauds who should run the gauntlet of her chilling manner and rough questioning. Hence, the horror self-respecting wage-earners feel at resorting to "organized charity" when a long spell of unemployment reduces them to straits.

The practice of law leads many a lawyer to regard the contentious procedure of the law court as the ideal way of establishing the truth or falsity of a proposition and to look upon the law, with all its cloudiness, intricacy, and tortuousness (which mean employment for attorneys), as a sacred Ark of the Covenant upon which no profane hands may be laid. Among doctors there is an element—not always in the minority—claiming a vested right in disease,

<sup>4</sup> Whiting Williams, *Mainsprings of Men*, p. 67.

which distrusts public-health promotion and socialized medicine lest not enough disease survive to afford doctors a livelihood! Medical ethics and particularly medical etiquette strike shrewd outsiders as cloaks to hide the doctor's blindness from the public and protect his fees.

The training of army and navy officers—like that of theological students—seems designed to *tie* the mind. Only rarely does the thought of either the soldier or the priest travel much beyond the prescribed range. The typical military man shows small respect for human dignity, troubles himself little over the cruelties and abuses heaped upon recruits, and exacts of those under him the same unquestioning obedience he mechanically yields his superior officers.

Not a few newspaper men who made their start with sentiments of common decency eventually come to behave as if private individuals existed for no other end than to have private affairs which may be blazoned on the front page in such a way as to woo a cloudburst of coppers for the newspaper.

Such biases lessen the worth of specialists to society. In craftsmen and tradesmen the warping by occupation may be forestalled by a good general education. For the practitioners of the professions the remedy is the requirement of a broad liberal education before one embarks upon the training for his profession; also a steady fire of outside criticism of their practices.

#### HEROES OF SUCCESS

The business man is engaged in organizing the production of goods and services and getting them to those who want them. His recompense naturally comes in the form of money and his money is "clean" if he makes it in compliance with the rules and expectations which apply to his

kind of business. Since more ability is presumed to be required to build up a large-scale business than to build up a small-scale business, there is no harm in making the size of his fortune a large factor in rating the business man.

But how ridiculous to apply this measuring rod to other types of endeavor! The glory of the surgeon is in establishing a new, difficult, needed operation; of the bacteriologist in finding the serum that stays a malignant disease; of the plant-breeder in creating more luscious varieties of fruits; of the architect in planning the Adelante Building or the Church of the Ascension; of the engineer in creating a Niagara of power by collecting the mountain waters up among the clouds; of the aviator in a new record non-stop flight; of the philanthropist in founding a great social settlement or inventing a better way of teaching the deaf; of the missionary in making the spirit of the Gospel to prevail in new places: Who now asks how much money Homer made out of the *Iliad*? Shakespeare out of *Midsummer Night's Dream*? Shelley out of *Queen Mab*? Harvey out of his discovery of the circulation of the blood? Jenner out of his vaccination protection against smallpox? Pasteur out of his proof of the germ origin of infectious diseases?

There is no surer sign that current American civilization is unripe, provisional, and destined to be profoundly modified than our habit of applying business standards of success *in situations where they ought not to be applied*. Only time will tell whether the big outstanding tone-giving business men can be persuaded to turn their backs on Mammonistic standards of achievement and to apply to themselves and to their colleagues more worthy, social, and satisfying standards of success.

## LOCUS AND STATUS

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IN THE STUDY of any locality there are two factors to be taken into account, the people who constitute the population and the territory they occupy. Groups are located in space and the members of the group are spatially related. *Locus*,<sup>1</sup> spatial placement, means the position of a person relative to other persons in degrees of proximity or contiguity. Each member of any locality group is forced to adjust himself to the common locus and to the other members, and to continue that adjustment as the conditions change if society is to possess any degree of stability. There is then a relationship between man and his environment, physical and social, and the successive adjustments and modifications become in turn a part of the *milieu*, conditioning the further process of association.

In a recent study<sup>2</sup> of a limited urban residential area of middle-class people, effort was made to discover not only the social relationships of the residents, but their attitudes towards their locale, the values which it represents to them, and the effects of these attitudes and values<sup>3</sup> upon stability of residence.

<sup>1</sup> McKenzie uses the word, position, "to describe the place relation of a given community to other communities; also the location of the individual or institution within the community itself." "The Ecological Approach," *The City, Park and Burgess*, p. 64, footnote.

<sup>2</sup> *The Changing Urban Neighborhood*, Bessie A. McClenahan, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1929.

<sup>3</sup> A value is that object towards which or against which action is directed and the favorable or unfavorable attitude of the person determines whether that action shall be positive or negative with reference to the value.

The area studied has been built up within the last quarter of a century and the changes which have occurred were found to fall into three classes: (1) *physical*, in the paving of streets, in increased traffic, in the installation of a drainage system, in remodeling of houses for multi-family use, in the building of flats and apartments, and in increased utilization of the lot space; (2) *economic*, in decreasing home ownership, in variations of property valuations, and in the increase in number and kinds of shops, stores, and services available to the residents; (3) *social*, in the composition of the population—an increasing cosmopolitanism of national and cultural groups, a drawing nearer of Negro and Japanese families, and a smaller proportionate juvenile population compared with that of the city of Los Angeles, in decreasing ownership and increasing transiency of residence, and in a decreasing participation, or "neighboring,"<sup>4</sup> tending towards non-participation. Regarding these changes, there are different opinions, such as expressions of gratification, of anxiety and dislike, and of indifference, which indicate possible different interpretations of the facts and possible different evaluations of them. These changes define the background of the lives of the people and condition their activities in relation to the area.

The area covered in the investigation provides the locus of the six hundred and fifty families who were interviewed. Locus, spatial placement, has social significance, first, because it subjects the person and the family to all the various physical, economic, and social stimuli of the immediate environment. Besides, locus conditions the availability of social contacts and the rapidity with which they

<sup>4</sup> The dominant characteristic of a human being is activity, which is expressed among his kind. His acts both concern himself and are directed towards others. To what extent are his activities organized with reference to the place in which he lives? Sociologists have been wont to refer to the immediate locality as the neighborhood. If its meaning is limited to proximity of residence, the term, "neighboring," may be used to signify the active associating of the nigh-dwellers.

may be made. It means not only contiguity, physical nearness, but it must also be considered with reference to the time involved in reaching other localities. How long does it take to go from home to work? From friend to friend? From business center to business center? The time-place element has become a very important consideration for many people and frequently determines the place of residence, and, almost always, that of a business or of an industry. In the third place, locus may become associated in the mind of the person with desirability or undesirability of residence in terms of comfort, conveniences, beauty, or pleasant associations. As a result of the emotional reaction, identification with the area may either hold the person to it in spite of the appeal of other localities, or aversion for it may tend to bring about his removal. Sometimes, for example, when residence is determined merely by convenience, locus becomes a matter of indifference and the community of little concern to the resident.

As the opinions of the residents relative to their locus are reviewed, two common denominators are found, including both owners and renters within their scope. They are the values of economic security and of fixed, undisturbed, or improved social status. Status is the place which the person occupies in the group and is the result of the person's conception of his own importance and of the role he wishes or believes he should play or does play in relation to other people, and that which is held by the members of the group. Locus seems to bear a relation to status, or perhaps it may be stated in another way: spatial placement has a relation to social placement. The statements of the interviewees are illuminating and make it clear that when economic security is attained, there is a certain stability of residence. The latter appears to be more stable when, along with economic well-being, there

is also a feeling of security in social position. Sometimes, residence in the area means a rise in status and as a result, the family remains; is "settled." For the foreign-born especially, the sense of belonging<sup>5</sup> and the resultant feeling of gratification over being accepted is simply security in an admitted status. The following quotation is illustrative:

We have owned our home for six years. We like to live here. It is a nice neighborhood and we do not want to move. It is middle-class and I think it will remain white and middle-class. We have found it a friendly neighborhood. We have been accepted by the community.<sup>6</sup>

The proximity of the Negroes and the Japanese is a constant threat of lowered status and is one of the strongest influences in precipitating removal from the area. Sometimes, the threat is not regarded as imminent and there is no change of locus. Sometimes, the resident is older, life is settled, and behavior patterns are strong; there is more or less resigned acceptance of the situation, especially when the resident is fortified by the feeling of "home," and need not come in contact with the "undesirables." It is the younger people with children who are most agitated because of the danger of lowered status for the children as they come in contact with the Negro and Japanese children in the elementary school. Removal may be prevented because of a present economic security in terms of investment in property, low rents, nearness to work, and because of the expenses involved in making a change. However, the emotional disturbance may be greater than the economic limitation and bring about a change of locus as in the case of Mr. and Mrs. C. When a call was first made

<sup>5</sup> The wish to belong is social rather than individualistic. It is satisfied only as the person feels himself accepted and an integral part of a group. His value as a person is determined by the action of the group and at the same time his egoistic sense is subordinated to his sense of being a member of a social unit.

<sup>6</sup> Interview No. 487.

on the family, Mrs. C. said she was looking for another house. Within a month she had made arrangements to move. The family is Italian but the husband, who is a musician, is a naturalized American citizen. In giving her reason for moving, Mrs. C. said:

We have three children—a boy sixteen, and two girls, eleven and nine. We have been renting here four months. We do not like it very well. There are so many colored people moving in. We want to give our children the best advantages including a college education and we do not feel that this neighborhood provides a very good atmosphere. There are only five white children in my son's grade at school and about two-thirds of the children are colored [actually 23 per cent]. We are looking for another place and want to move quite badly.

In an interview a month later, she said:

I must get out of this neighborhood as quickly as possible. I cannot allow my children to go to the school here because there are too many colored folks. We can scarcely afford to make a change now, but we have stood it as long as we can. We have found a nice place farther west and south. There is a good school there. I am certainly happy to get away from here.<sup>7</sup>

The attitudes of the resident toward the locality is definitely affected by the correlation between locus and status. When they accord, he tends to remain stable in residence; when they come in conflict, he is uneasy and wishes to move. The person tends not to regard his residence as permanent and consequently he does not identify himself with the area or with its welfare.

It is clear that locus is interpreted in contiguity, in terms of nearness of spatial relations and in terms of the temporal relations of permanency and transiency. Status is

<sup>7</sup> Interview No. 99.

interpreted in terms of social distance.<sup>8</sup> It defines the relative social positions of persons in a group and is a potent factor motivating behavior. It is both subjective and objective, that is, it involves certain psychological reactions or intellectual and emotional appraisal of social position and behavior in accordance therewith. The data of the study of this urban neighborhood show that locus and status are linked together in the determination of degrees of mobility; and that they are also evident in the association of the nigh-dwellers.<sup>9</sup>

An intensive study was made of the social relationships of the residents in terms of participation, limited participation and non-participation, degrees of intimacy of social contacts. The data gave warrant for concluding that locus conditions association. Similar locus insures contiguity and contiguity makes participation possible. It brings people within the scope of observation of each other. They see each other; they hear each other; they pass each other; they recognize that they do not occupy the area alone. Their presence impinges upon each other and there is some form of reaction. They may be attracted or repelled. A common locus, then, is a primary factor in association.

Participation is also affected by the temporal elements of permanency and transiency as reflected in status. The extent of neighboring today seems to be affected favorably by length of residence. The older residents enjoy a superior status. The time element re-enforces the factor of

<sup>8</sup> Social distance has been defined as "the grades and degrees of understanding and intimacy which characterize personal and social relations generally." R. E. Park, "The Concept of Social Distance," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VIII (July-August, 1924), pp. 339-344.

It is attributed to "an absence of perception and communication" and to "a recoil from acquaintance and intimacy in which differences in attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs were discovered and conflicts developed." E. S. Bogardus, *The New Social Research*, p. 208.

<sup>9</sup> *Nigh-dweller* emphasizes adjacent residence in contrast to *neighbor* which signifies more intimate association.

proximity as the resident becomes increasingly identified with his locus. Ownership also enhances the chances for participation and functions in two ways: it indicates a greater degree of permanency relative to locus, and a certain common status as between owners, superior to that of the renters.

In the following excerpt from an interview, it is evident that the status resulting from membership in a certain church and not common locus, had opened the way for participation. It is limited, however, since Mrs. C. does not feel that she "belongs" to the group of owner-neighbors. She is not included in their social affairs. Mrs. C. explained:

I only know a few of the neighbors. When we first moved here three years ago, our friends told us that we had better not place our membership with any church until we had looked around a bit. We did this for two years and finally joined the —— Church. I then found to my surprise that there were two families right on our street who were members and the women immediately called. They told me that they had not called before because there had been so many people moving in and out of that house since the original owners moved away and started renting that they did not care to make many calls. I realized then that I had made a mistake in waiting so long for church connections. I was very lonely those first two years. The church activities are all I have time for now and since I joined here I have made many new friends. There are quite a few church members on this street.

We do not visit back and forth, but there are always words of greeting and a friendly spirit. I think the older home owners do get together for cards and entertain some for each other. Mrs. J. lives across the street and she is quite active socially, but the newer people on the street do not receive invitations. I don't know exactly, but from things said I gather that they do get together quite a bit.<sup>10</sup>

While various phases of social nearness, that is, common concerns, and an acceptable status tend to promote asso-

<sup>10</sup> Interview No. 89.

ciation, it is restricted by social separation (social distance) or by differences in status which are perceived or "felt." Non-participation is correlated with the changes taking place, especially as they bring into the area, the "newcomer," the "rooming-house" or "boarding-house keeper," "the transient renter," and the "foreigner." Additional restrictive factors which indicate differences in status are found in disputes and disagreements over a variety of issues and over what are believed to be unwarranted assumptions of social superiority.

There is ample evidence that participation tends towards non-participation or abstention from association and a decreasing correlation of participation and locus. Increasing individualization of activity and partial forms of association, such as lodge, club, friendly circle, in which the friend or associate may be known only in that one connection, signify the decreasing function of the local area as the base for association. Sometimes the person or the family has never identified himself or itself with the area and has always held aloof and superior. In such case, status is linked not with locus but with locus-free groups or with a desired new locus unattainable because of economic limitations.

Today people are located in relatively close spatial proximity but their association is definitely limited by social distance, frequently desired. Yard merges into yard and only a thin partition separates families yet certain psycho-social barriers are as effective as physical ones could be. A common locus, proximity, ownership, and length of residence do not necessarily mean social unity or social integration. Locus is linked with economic interests and the desire to maintain social status and both locus and status condition the association of nigh-dwellers. Spatial placement and social placement are highly correlative and both are effective social values conditioning human behavior.

## COLLEGE ORGANIZATION FOR MENTAL HEALTH

READ BAIN

*Oxford University, Oxford, Ohio*

IN CERTAIN circles it is a popular pastime to damn the shortcomings of college students. Mrs. Grundy and Mr. Babbitt agree that college is both a waste of time and a menace to morals. College makes men and women irreligious, unpatriotic, cynical, superficial; they drink, smoke, gamble, jazz-dance, neck, and by this declension fall into vice, crime, and suicide.

While no informed person would agree with the Grundy-Babbitt views of the facts, causes or remedies, nearly twenty years' experience as college student and teacher has convinced the writer that serious maladjustment is very common among students. Minor difficulties are almost universal.

It is easy to see why. College rudely shocks the none too stable personality of many students. From the sheltered security and sentimental intimacy of the home, they are hurled into the impersonal chaos of college. They become anonymous, they gain a freedom that easily leads to license, they lose the conventional controls of family, church, and neighborhood. Some are neurotic when they come; some are already rebelling against the "established order." For such young people college is no soothing syrup; it is a powerful irritant. New ideas and new practices batter them into confusion.

Smart, sensational professors, often neurotic themselves, loosen the solid moorings of the students' souls. One says

"This!" authoritatively, logically, brilliantly; another says "That!" in like manner. To which many students reply: "What is the Good, the True, the Beautiful, then? Nobody knows; nobody cares. It's all the bunk; it's an awful mess. What's the use? Lessstep!" Result: superficial, smart cynicism; frivolity. Others have "soul agonies"; self-pity; continued confusion; bitterness; despair. Result: antisocial conduct; flight from reality.

But most of them weather the storm after a fashion. The vast majority soon return to the conventional, irrational security of the mob from which they were momentarily shaken. They become the Beefy Babbitts who look back upon their sophomoric *Stern and Drang* with amused and (sometimes) tolerant contempt. Some integrate their personalities on a saner, more wholesome, rational level. But some do not. They leave college with "sick souls" that never become entirely healthy. Some few escape by psychosis and suicide.

It is probable that the college produces many more personality conflicts than it cures. Few professors are able to recognize symptoms of personality disorders and still fewer have any skill in resolving them. Those who try often increase the confusion. Most teachers smile at them: "The growing pains of youth; I went through all that; look at me now!" Many are contemptuous: "Such students are no good anyway—worthless weaklings. What they need is a little use of their will power (sic!) and some stiff discipline." Some deny the existence of disturbed minds. "The vast majority of students are too stupid to be distressed by ideas." By which they usually mean "by the ideas of *my* subject as revealed by *me*." This is often only too true, but many of the most serious student problems arise outside of the classroom—work, love, clubs, athletics, social status friendships, religion—many things that seem much

more important to the student than the Pearsonian coefficient of correlation or the Strassburg Oaths.

This discussion should not be interpreted as a plea for "soft pedagogy." Nor can the impersonal nature of large-scale college education be greatly or easily modified. It is probably undesirable that it should be. Becoming intelligent is the attainment of impersonal, objective behavior. The personal, sentimental, limiting attitudes of youth must be replaced by the more generalized intellectual and emotional patterns of adult life. But many teachers who specialize in "shock pedagogy" should temper their blasts of wisdom to the tender psychic skins of their shorn lambs. They should have a wider and more sympathetic understanding of the personality problems of students. They should be less pretentiously sententious and pedantic, less suspicious of student good faith, less supercilious and hypercritical of student confusion and ineptitude. They should be more interested in the student's mastery of his life than in trying to compel him to master "subjects." If the first were done, the latter would be easier to do.

So there can be no sentimental avoidance of the personality conflicts caused by college. If students are to attain intellectual and emotional adulthood, the folk-lore of farm and village, the bondage of traditional common-sense knowledge, the pathetic hang-overs of the medieval mind, the current biases, prejudices, stereotypes, and superstitions must be replaced by the knowledge and methods of science. To become rational men and women they must put away childish things and thinking.

But this means conflict, crisis, confusion. It is as inescapable as it is desirable. There is no growth without tension and struggle; no learning without emotional behavior. Our task is to maximize the constructive and minimize the destructive results of this irrepressible conflict. First, we

must disturb the personality, destroy the childish equilibrium; then we must achieve an integration on a new level of rational social adjustment. Struggle is tragic only when the new adjustment unfits the person to play a socially acceptable role.

What can the college do about it? The answer is simple. It can create an organization for maintaining the mental health of students and for giving mental treatment to those who need it. We spend millions for physical health and hygiene but not one cent for mental hygiene. We spend huge sums for curricular and extra-curricular activities but very little for the education of the "emotions" and the integration of personalities. We do much to unsettle character and then are horrified and surprised at the occasional tragic results. It would seem the part of wisdom to find out why this aberrant behavior occurs and then to try to prevent it.

The following suggestions are offered for serious consideration by college administrators.

1. Every college should have a psychiatric staff. A few now have psychiatrists, but they are usually so busy teaching technical courses that they have little time or no time to practice their art.

2. Every freshman should have a good mental hygiene course during his first semester.

3. The chairman of the discipline committee should be a psychiatrist. He should have final disposition of cases.

4. A psychiatrist should be present at all physical examinations and should make a psychiatric examination of each student at least once a year.

5. Every failing student should automatically come under psychiatric observation. Often some very simple difficulty is at the basis of scholastic failure—wrong teachers, phobias due to past failure and consequent inferiority

feelings, too much work, too much or too little love, parental fixations and tensions, conflicts between Genesis and geology, etc. I imagine many, many more scholastic failures are due to personality difficulties than to lack of mental ability or physical health. From the academic point of view alone, the college psychiatrist is a necessity.

6. Deans of men and women should be well grounded in the simpler causes and remedies of personality maladjustment. At present they function chiefly as clerks, policemen, employment agents, and experts on etiquette.

7. Advisers should specialize more on life schedules and less on class schedules.

8. Teachers and friends of neurotic students (and teachers) should bring these cases to the attention of the psychiatrist.

9. Students with personality problems should be taught to go to the psychiatrist as they are now learning to go to the hospital for fevers and indigestion.

10. All teachers should take the freshman course in mental hygiene each year—and many of them should go to the psychiatrist for their own souls' sake.

With such an organization, the colleges might really do the work they are trying to do. Instead of turning out each year an increasing number of bitter, disillusioned, cynical, superficial, neurotic, rationalizing, disturbed personalities, they would send into the community a larger and larger number of wholesome, healthy-minded, rationally integrated young men and women. The college should be both a creator and cure of souls.

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## CHILD CONSERVATION IN VIENNA<sup>1</sup>

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OUTSTANDING experiments in child welfare and progressive education are being conducted today in the one-time ultra conservative city of Vienna. The studies being made in this central European capitol are not confined to the school life of children. In the case of younger children, Vienna takes what might be termed a twenty-four hour interest in their welfare. To better understand what is taking place in Austria in the realm of education and social work it is necessary to have in mind the political situation.

Through the defeat of the Central Powers in 1918, Austria was reduced from a powerful empire to a very small state. A revolution that took place at the time of the Armistice caused the abdication of the last Hapsburg emperor and the setting up of a republic. This tiny nation is about the size of Maine and is for the most part in a mountainous region. Austria's population is a little over 6,000,000. One third of the people live in the one-time imperial capitol of Vienna. There are no other large cities.

Pre-war Austria was an economic unit. Raw materials for manufacture were to be found within the empire. Vienna was the great factory center fed by the outlying regions with coal, iron, wool, leather. Today new nations, such as Yugo-Slavia, Czecho-Slovakia, and Poland occupy the territory that contributed to Vienna and have set up tariff walls which are an impediment to commerce.

<sup>1</sup> Based on first-hand studies made in Vienna in 1929. This article has been prepared from the notes of an address given before the members of Alpha Kappa Delta, University of Southern California Chapter.

With her sources of supply cut off, Vienna can do but little manufacturing. A large portion of the population is therefore out of work,—a condition which has created problems, the solution of which is calling for a number of new expedients.

Two political parties have arisen, each with its program for the reconstruction of the nation. Unfortunately there is very intense feeling existing between the two groups. The conservative party, called the Christian Socialist, is made up of people living in the country regions surrounding Vienna. The liberal party, known as the Social Democrats, draws its adherents almost entirely from the metropolitan area. The result is political warfare between the city and the country districts.<sup>2</sup>

At present the liberal party is in power and is striving to bring to fruition a number of advanced ideas. Due to the political situation, the Social Democrat platform receives poor support in the country and Vienna therefore is the only place where the innovations may be studied to advantage.

Since the war, poverty and disease have taken a high toll of children in Austria. The Socialist Government is greatly concerned with the up-bringing of the young survivors. It is desired that children be given the best possible living conditions and educational facilities. The work being done that is of particular interest here falls into the three categories of Housing, Social Welfare Work, and Education. These items will each be considered.

#### I. HOUSING

Before the war Vienna had the worst of housing conditions. The majority of people lived in five and six story apartment houses. The apartments were small, ill-lighted,

<sup>2</sup> See J. A. Mahan, *Vienna Yesterday and Today*, pp. 37-61.

and without sanitary conveniences. To make matters worse, the rents were excessive, being entirely out of proportion to those elsewhere.

During the war, of course, no new buildings were put up and strangely, the population decreased but little. The housing problem was acute in 1919. The first step taken was to create a housing department. This agency embarked upon a drastic program of relief. Laws for rent protection were first passed. These acts were in the nature of first aid to tenants. Not only did they afford a wide measure of protection against notices to quit but they also prescribed a way of fixing rent which amounted to the confiscation of the property of the house owner. The owner received an income from his buildings but it was so small that it was an income in name only.

This measure was passed to relieve tenants at least temporarily,—of their unbearable rent burden. The way was now open for the municipality to substitute a tax for the rent and thus to begin its most extensive program of apartment construction. The city went further and decreed that householders occupying their own houses should limit themselves to a definite number of rooms per person and either rent the others or pay for their use. Most of them paid and this increased the fund for construction.

A visitor to Vienna is greatly impressed by the number of city-owned apartment houses built and building. They are the direct opposite of the old privately owned dwellings. Ample play space for children is provided off the streets as only about one-half the ground area is occupied by the building. There are spacious gardens and lawns where children are free to enjoy themselves. Small children do not have even to cross the street to go to school for there is a kindergarten within the building. For winter use there are large, well designed play rooms and nurseries.

The new dwellings go far to raise the low level of Viennese housing conditions. Of every thousand flats built in Vienna before the war, 953 had no water supply and 921 no water closet on the premises, but both these conveniences exist in every dwelling constructed by the municipality. Previously only 62 out of every thousand small flats had a parlor, but three-quarters of the municipal flats of the same type have a parlor.<sup>3</sup>

What is known as a single room or small apartment actually consists of two or three rooms in addition to a kitchen; the latter is equipped with a most efficient gas range. Every apartment has a wash room with running water and a toilet, but no bath. Baths are provided for by an ample and commodious bath station with many private showers and tubs. Baths are furnished for about ten cents each. All the newer buildings are supplied with large and wonderfully equipped steam laundries, including many washing machines, centrifugal wringers, dryers, and mangles. An operator will do a week's washing for a tenant in half a day and the cost is included in the rent. In addition there is usually a lecture hall, moving picture theatre, library, doctor's and lawyer's offices, and necessary stores within the structure.

These buildings are much on the order of self-contained communities and yet there is no sense of crowding. A single apartment house may be three-quarters of a mile long and house ten thousand persons and yet there is an air of peace and quiet due to careful planning and substantial construction that is not found in the typical American four-family flat.

The rents are surprisingly low. For a typical small apartment of four rooms the rent is about one dollar a

<sup>3</sup> See Robert Daunberg, *Vienna Under Socialist Rule*, pp. 27-29.

month in American money. A larger apartment of seven rooms may come to four dollars a month. These prices include the use of the laundry. Even though wages are low, working people now are able to have a little surplus to buy proper food and clothing for themselves and children. Elementary-school teachers begin teaching at a salary of \$35.00 a month; after fifteen years they receive \$60.00 and their maximum is \$90.00 a month. Skilled workers, such as street car conductors, on the average get \$48.00 a month; unskilled workers \$40.00, and road sweepers \$35.00 a month.

These wages seem very low according to our standards and actually are far below those that would be received in a normal situation but they are sufficient to maintain a family under the reformed living conditions. The municipality also maintains a number of restaurants where an excellent meal can be had for about twenty-five cents. The municipality still further cares for the "at home" hours of children by providing numerous recreation spots where there are wading and swimming pools and lawns for sun bathing. Vienna is a city where sun tans are highly prized with the result that children and grown-ups spend as much time as possible in regular sun bathing establishments that are connected with the public baths.

In connection with child welfare should be mentioned the allotment gardens. These gardens are small sections of city land where families may lease for very little and are usually located in the vicinity of the dwellings. On an allotment a family will build a tiny cottage or summer house. Trees, shrubs, vines, and flowers are cultivated. Often vegetables and fruits are grown. There is a great deal of pride taken in the work so that the gardens are usually beautiful. Here the members of the family spend

much of their spare time during the summer and incidentally have much outdoor activity.<sup>4</sup>

## II. SOCIAL WELFARE WORK

When the Socialists assumed control they found in existence certain welfare institutions which prior to the war had proved inadequate and during the war had fallen into neglect. Moreover, the spirit in which this welfare work had been carried on was bad. It was the almsgiving of the haughty rich. The terrible misery of the post-war period made welfare work more urgently necessary than ever before. Mortality had increased by 60 per cent in comparison with pre-war times and child mortality by as much as 100 per cent. Even now the municipality cannot perform all the duties that devolve upon it in this sphere but it has recognized its obligations and is striving to discharge them.

Welfare work begins with the unborn child. Every needy woman is entitled to apply to the Child Welfare Department. There are 34 pre-natal clinics where blood tests may be taken to combat hereditary diseases. Women who apply receive financial aid, legal advice, and any other help that the family circumstances may render necessary. Registrars of births send details of all births notified to the Child Welfare Department which in turn sends a visitor to the home. No child is born in Vienna without an offer of assistance from the municipality. This most frequently takes the form of clothes for the baby. In the course of the year about 10,000 sets of clothes are supplied. In the pre-natal clinics mothers are instructed in the care of children.

<sup>4</sup> A great deal more could be said concerning the work of the municipality in improving the physical aspects of the home conditions surrounding the children of Vienna. The activities are manifold and of a scope that create a deep respect on the part of the visitor.

The Child Welfare Department supplies clothes and all other necessities to needy children for one-tenth their actual cost. It also supervises the welfare of illegitimate and foster children. The school doctors and nurses, the child welfare centers, school dining halls, relief work, play grounds, and travelers' rests, to mention but a portion of the activities, are under the far-flung administration of the Child Welfare Department.

The work of the department is further supplemented by municipal child welfare institutions. A Children's Reception Office classifies all children who need assistance. It is housed in a splendid new building with all up-to-date equipment. Its functions include such activities as are found in a psychological clinic, school health department, and child welfare combined. It is a central clearing house for all children who are in need of aid. Here much excellent experimental work is being done by the two Doctors Buhler, Dr. Hildegard Hetzer, and their assistants. Scientific observation of young children is being carried on that is resulting in tests of mental and social development of young children which are of great value in placing cases.

After a case is carefully studied at the Reception Office, recommendations are made for placement. The infants are sent to a special home. The larger children are sent to institutions, where they stay until a home is found for them. Sick children are placed in nursing homes and there is a special hospital for children with venereal disease. Children who cannot be placed with foster parents are admitted to the city orphanages. For utterly neglected and backward children there are two special institutions in which the youngsters are educated on the most up-to-date lines. These institutions have their own schools and work shops and the pupils remain there until they are eighteen at which time they are helped to secure regular employ-

ment. There is a school for domestic economy and for dressmaking and a guest house for former city orphans during the time of their business education.

This again is but a brief sketch of a great organization whose size can be better appreciated when it is realized that there are 300 social workers investigating cases. And the task is great for the city claims the right to care for all children who are in danger from any cause, such as broken homes, poverty, and parents working, disabled, or dead.

### III EDUCATION

The Socialist government has paid special attention to education. The sharp decline in the number of pupils from 240,000 in the last pre-war year to 138,000 in the school year 1927-28 was not utilized to dismiss a portion of the more than 11,000 teachers. It was realized that the situation presented an excellent condition for the trying out of progressive ideas in education. The chief innovation consisted in working out an entirely new curriculum. The rigid time table which calls for different subjects to be taught at different periods has been abolished.

Attention today is concentrated upon drawing out the child's individuality. Practical instruction has supplemented theoretical teaching. The children are taken for walks or short excursions, and all the variety of things they observe are made subjects of instruction. This amounts to a training in systematic observation and description. The pupils are encouraged to express themselves freely in drawing, modeling, and composition. Instruction is no longer divided into water-tight compartments, but constitutes a uniform whole during the first four years. The curriculum prescribes the educational goals for the first five years, but the method of attaining them is left to the teacher.

The fundamental principles of education that were adopted in 1920 by the Vienna Board of Education are:

1. The school shall be child-centered.
2. The child shall learn through activity.
3. The child shall learn first of the things near at hand; that is, instruction is home centered.
4. The program of instruction shall be concentrated. That is, there is no time table of periods at which certain independent subjects must be taught. The teachers plan to develop a unit of instruction together. Plans are laid each week as to what shall be taught and the manner of its presentation during the following week. Teachers consult the school reference library which is well supplied with essential information. The topic chosen may be "The Druggist." Monday the class visits a drug store and watches the druggist at his business until the members have a sufficient comprehension of his stock and the manner of selling. Back at school, each teacher (they are of the departmental type) covers the course of study requirements in his particular field from the standpoint of the druggist. The geography teacher takes up the countries from which certain drugs come, the arithmetic teacher may dwell on the mathematics involved in certain simple formulae or business transactions, while the other teachers supplement in the same way the original visit to the drug store. The time each teacher will take for his subject-matter is arranged among themselves. One week each teacher may prefer to take a day to develop his instruction. Some other time it perhaps would be advisable to take one hour a day for the school week.

The old reading books, which were the terror of the children, have been superceded by a new series of books of a good literary style beginning with fairy tales and ending with classical and modern works. Incidentally, it was felt that this was one of the best means of combating the influence of trashy literature. Separate editions are supplied to city and country children adapted to their divergent interests and experiences.

The entire attitude of the school toward the pupil has been changed. Today the teacher is more a companion

and associate and does not attempt to exercise an omnipotent power. In fact, in many schools, teachers do not concern themselves with handling discipline or arbitrarily assigning school grades. Students have been given greater responsibilities and seem, in general, to have lived up to them. There can be no question that children are now far happier in school. They no longer leave school with mere scraps of information but seem to have the capacity to acquire fresh knowledge and a better ability to meet new problems.

The structure of the school system has been reformed to effect greater democracy. The educational privileges of the possessing classes have been abolished. Under the school law of August, 1927, the curricula of certain elementary and secondary schools have been coordinated to facilitate progression from one to the other.

From the ages of six to ten all pupils attend the basic *Grundschule*. From the tenth year there is a two-way tract designed for those who wish to enter the trades or go on to the university. The *Hauptschule* takes children who may later go to trade school. The *Gymnasium* is designed to prepare pupils for the university.

The *Hauptschule* and *Gymnasium* have the same course of study but the latter school has additional instruction which is in the nature of enrichment. There are no barriers between the two schools and a pupil may be transferred from one to the other at any promotion period. The *Hauptschule* carries a student through to the fourteenth year at which time compulsory education ceases. Students in the *Gymnasium* continue there until the age of eighteen when most are ready for the university. This arrangement permits a child to postpone a decision concerning his future career until his fourteenth year. It also makes possible more careful preparation of students who are going

on to university, as the requirements are covered in the enriched program. If a child shows ability in the *Hauptschule* he can be sent to the *Gymnasium* without examination at the age of ten or any year thereafter. The selection is intellectual rather than social as in the imperial days.

The new educational system greatly reduces retardation. Formerly eleven per cent of the children had to repeat school years. A factor in the better situation existing today is that slow-learning children are segregated into small classes in charge of particularly efficient teachers. There are special schools for the feeble-minded and special attention is given to children who are wholly or partially deaf. Children who are about to finish school and go to work are given an added course of instruction to better prepare them for their new occupation. Careful attention is given gifted children who may take advantage of special courses of training in such subjects as music, languages, practical chemistry, physics, etc.

The new plan of education would not function if the teachers were not prepared to carry it out. The support of the teaching group has been secured through extension classes and by letting teachers help work on the details of the new program. The school authorities have kept the teachers well supplied with periodicals dealing with the various aspects of education.

The Educational College of the City of Vienna with 60 lecturers and 3,400 students, is the teachers' training center. A research department for the scientific study of child psychology has been created. The Experimental Institute of Psychology, as the organization is called, supplies all kinds of literature to interested persons from kindergarten teachers to instructors in secondary schools. The library that has been built up now contains 120,000 books, and subscribes to 382 periodicals. It is probably the best li-

brary devoted to education in Europe if not in the world.

Thanks to the experimental work in character education carried on by Dr. Paul Dengler, pupil communities are now being established in the secondary schools. The purpose of these associations is to develop the communal sense and stimulate the feeling of responsibility among the children by means of self-government. Their activities cover many spheres, such as the care of school libraries, arrangements for school entertainments, cooperation in maintaining order, cooperating in the assignment of school marks, etc. The responsibility of students in the settlement of questions of discipline is one of the main functions of these voluntary communities. In certain experimental schools, Dr. Dengler has instituted teacher communities and parents communities, the whole woven together with the pupil communities and operating as, what is termed, the "school community." Under this plan parent-teacher meetings have been given a new vitality. Parents discuss with each other the solution of problems arising in their own homes concerning their children. Teachers meet with committees of parents to whom they look for advice. In many cases pupils prefer to seek the intelligent help of a parent committee rather than taking the chance of being rebuffed by their own mother or father.

Teachers are being trained to handle problem cases in their own schools through the help of Dr. Alfred Adler. It is the plan to have "leaders" trained in the principles of individual psychology in each school capable of carrying out investigations and making recommendations. At present, there are about 1,000 such leaders scattered throughout the schools of Vienna.

The training is carried out under the direction of Dr. Adler. A group of 40 schools can be handled at one time. In each of these schools a psychologist meets all the teach-

ers once a week. At this meeting a case originating in the school is discussed with the aid of a case history and a questionnaire covering essential points required for diagnosis. The child's problem is considered from all sides and a recommendation is made. The mother is then called into conference and treated with great consideration. In spite of mistakes she may have made, the mother is tactfully shown how she can carry out the suggested plan of treatment. The child next is won over by friendly overtures. Through skillful suggestion the boy is brought to the point where he wishes to carry out his part of the plan. Teachers are trained in the methods of securing social information and discussing problems in ways which are not obvious or embarrassing to the child. As Dr. Adler puts it, "The child must be allowed to conquer."

## RACE AND CULTURE

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IT IS THE purpose of this article to present a comparative survey of three explanations of culture, i.e., the racial, the cultural, and the racio-cultural.

### THE RACIAL EXPLANATION OF CULTURE

Since 1853 when Arthur de Gobineau published his "Essai sur l'inegalite des races humaines," there has continued a vigorous line of writers of influence who have built up a strong school of thought which argues that the foundations of civilizations are to be observed in the differential qualities of races. Such writers have been Houston Stewart Chamberlain,<sup>1</sup> who claimed that the Aryan branch of the white race is the superior race—as superior to some other races as is a greyhound to a poodle dog; La Pouge<sup>2</sup> (and Ammon) who claimed that only those with a cephalic index of 76 and below have "great wishes and incessantly work to satisfy them" and that these people are the Aryans; Galton and Karl Pearson who believed that "history shows one way and one way only, in which a high state of civilization has been produced, namely, in the struggle of race with race and the survival of the physically and mentally superior race";<sup>3</sup> and Madison Grant.<sup>4</sup> The works of

<sup>1</sup> H. W. Chamberlain, *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*.

<sup>2</sup> La Pouge, *Les silections sociales and L'Aryen*.

<sup>3</sup> Pearson, *The Scope and Importance to the State of the Science of National Eugenics*.

<sup>4</sup> Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race*.

these men and others are not reviewed in detail here because the views of the racialists are generally familiar. The fundamental points of view of the racialists can be summarized as follows:

1. The differences in culture are to be explained by differences in racial traits or biological traits determined by heredity.
2. Superior cultures are made by superior races.
3. The Nordic or dolichocephalic race is the superior race.
4. The Nordic or dolichocephalic race is the creator of superior cultures.
5. Since the Nordics are subject to a diseugenic selection, civilization is bound to decay.

#### THE CULTURAL EXPLANATION OF CULTURE

In contrast to the racialists are the culturalists who explain differences in culture in terms of culture itself and without race. Boas points out that the assumption of the superiority of certain races is based upon their achievements—but that achievements are not explained by race but by means of the history of achievement; that the history of achievement shows that the centers of civilization were shifting to and fro and were carried by various races as Hamitic, Semetic, Aryan, Mongol, and the races of ancient Peru; that the differences between the civilization of the old world and the new is primarily a difference in time; that there is little relationship between the "external physical and the psychical in man," and that, "on account of the great variability of the individuals constituting each race, racial differences are exceedingly difficult to discover, and that up to the present time none have been found that will endure serious criticism."<sup>5</sup> Boas continues his argu-

<sup>5</sup> F. Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, Ch. I.

ment for a purely cultural interpretation of differences in civilization by failing to find any correlations between language and race or between language and culture and race;<sup>6</sup> also, by stating that "modern anthropologists not only proceed on the assumption of the generic unity of the mind of man, but tacitly disregard quantitative differences which may very well occur . . . and . . . "base considerations on the theory of the similarity of mental functions in all races."<sup>7</sup> He also points out that cultural change is not to be accounted for in terms of race but in "the gradual elimination of what might be called the social associations of sense impressions and of activities, for which intellectual associations are gradually substituted."<sup>8</sup> This change would be due to a difference in knowledge not in race or to a cumulation of culture.

Following a similar argument Wallis<sup>9</sup> mentions the studies of the comparative powers of primitive and modern peoples in touch, sight, and hearing. Woodworth finds little difference in power among the races. Wallis suggests that differences, such as the ability of the natives of the Torres Straits to discriminate objects in a dim light better than Europeans, may possibly "show differences in education and interests." As regards the Army intelligence test results Wallis points out that: "In the case of the Negroes the highest ratio of superior and the lowest of inferior occurs in Camp Lewis, a camp of the northwest, the next lowest ratio being found in Camp Devens, a camp of the northeast, while the highest ration of inferior rating and the lowest of superior is in one of the southern camps, Camp Wadsworth. . . . Geographical variations in rating

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 243.

<sup>9</sup> W. D. Wallis, "Race and Culture," *Scientific Monthly*, Oct., 1926, pp. 313-321.

are not peculiar to Negroes but hold for whites as well and suggest that there probably are more or less marked differences in the levels of intelligence in the various parts of the country. . . . In a word, the fluctuations in negro rating suggests that the differences between negroes and whites is to be credited to social heritage rather than to race." Professor Wallis is also critical of the intelligence tests themselves and suggests that they are "standardized upon the basis of Anglo-Saxon experience and education and show differences in social experience and tradition of which race is but a chance carrier." Wallis continues by pointing out that: "There is no reason to believe that the innate characteristics of Anglo-Saxons today are different from their innate characteristics of the first century B.C.; but the differences in the social environment makes the individual Anglo-Saxon today a creature far different from his ancestors of two millenia ago. He does not owe this change to any change in physical heritage, but to a change in social heritage."

Such an argument as Wallis has given is also brought forward by Ogburn<sup>10</sup> who claims that man has not changed markedly biologically since the days of the Cro-Magnon 25,000 years ago, while during the same period of time culture has changed until at present it is growing very rapidly. Race, then, could not account for cultural changes since race has been relatively constant. Ogburn also points out that Indians, supposedly all of the same race, have quite different cultures in different parts of the United States, and Wallis agrees when he says, "The relative independence of culture and biological type is shown in the wide variations of culture associated with a given biological type."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Wm. Ogburn, *Social Change*.

<sup>11</sup> Wallis, "Race and Culture," *Scientific Monthly*, Oct., 1926, pp. 313-321.

Perhaps Kroeber<sup>12</sup> presents most emphatically the culturalists' denial of racial explanations of civilizations. He points out that birds acquired wings with which to fly by means of long changes in hereditary make-up, that flying equipment of birds is hereditary and relatively constant, and that wings were acquired at the sacrifice of legs. Humans, on the other hand, have acquired "wings" without losing anything else. Human changes "can take place through an invention without any such constitutional alteration of the human species . . . social evolution which characterizes the progress of civilization . . . is not, or not necessarily, tied up with hereditary agencies."<sup>13</sup> He goes on to say that "the attempt today to treat the social as organic, to understand civilization as hereditary, is as essentially narrow as the alleged mediaeval inclination to withdraw man from the realm of nature and from the ken of the scientist because he was believed to possess an immaterial soul."<sup>14</sup> Kroeber regrets to notice the fact that in a hundred years we have retrograded. A century or two ago we were devoting ourselves to the cause that all men were equal when suddenly there came Gobineau, Chamberlain, La Pouge, Ammon, Galton, Pearson, Grant, and Stoddard to arouse the public and much scientific fancy to the belief in "hereditary racial differences of ability . . . as approved doctrine."<sup>15</sup>

Kroeber stoutly maintains that there is no real proof for or against the matter of the equality of races. He is skeptical of experimental psychological tests for the same reason as is Wallis. Since, then, there is no satisfactory evidence to prove or disprove the biological equality of the races he claims the case is not arguable and points out that

<sup>12</sup> A. L. Kroeber, *The Superorganic*.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

"what is possible, however, is to realize that a complete and consistent explanation can be given, for so-called racial differences, on a basis of purely civilizational and non-organic causes<sup>16</sup> . . . that the destiny of nations can be predicted from an analysis of the organic constitution of their members, assumes that society is merely a collection of individuals, that civilization is only an aggregate of psychic activities and not also an entity beyond them; in short, that the social can be wholly resolved into the mental as it is thought this resolves into the physical."<sup>17</sup>

The point of view of the culturalists<sup>18</sup> seems to be about as follows:

1. Racial differences in mental ability or differences in any one group will be greater than differences between groups.
2. The same race may participate in different cultures in space or time.
3. Biological forms are relatively constant while culture is cumulative.
4. Culture or the superorganic is separate from the organic.
5. The complete explanation of cultural differences is to be made in terms of culture itself.

#### THE RACIO-CULTURAL EXPLANATION OF CULTURE

It seems to some students of society that both the racial and cultural factors need to be taken into consideration in understanding the differences between different cultures. This school may be called the Racio-Cultural school. Members of this school take a somewhat middle ground. They would agree that the specific culture traits of a cul-

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>18</sup> Melville Hertzkovits holds a cultural point of view similar to these presented.

ture may be explained largely in terms of culture itself, but they believe they can see some differences in the mental ability of races and that therefore the *level* of a culture may be explained in terms of race. The racio-culturalists do not emphasize specific race determiners of culture but simply that some races have a greater variability in mental culture than others—that this gives to some races more inventors than others—and that inventors are the creators of new cultural patterns. Hence the race with the greatest variability would develop the most complicated cultural patterns—the specific nature of the patterns, of course, being explained by their history.

Wissler<sup>19</sup> appears to be a racio-culturalist. He accepts the psychological data indicating differences between white and Indian groups,<sup>20</sup> and goes on to say that "the mere fact that, though cultures are not innate, the chief producing mechanism is, should at once raise a strong presumption that different groups of men will differ, for on what grounds could we expect that in view of all the individual variations we know to exist, large hereditary groups of men would show identical ranges and averages of mentality. Further it is the hereditary factor and tribal grouping that preclude the condition of random distributions for mental characters and give us what may be considered as selected groups, since in dealing with variable phenomena we know that if random, or by chance, we may get groups of equal distributions, but the moment we select according to some correlated standards our groups will differ. So since invention is an innate process, all we need, to secure unequal groups is to separate men according to descent; and as what we call races are most surely differentiated by descent, it follows that their innate equipments will dif-

<sup>19</sup> Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture*.

<sup>20</sup> Hunter in the *Journal of Comparative Psychology*, Vol. 2, pp. 257-277.

fer. Our analysis of culture traits and the unhereditary nature of the traits, show that culture is produced by the functioning of this innate equipment. If it differs, as seems inevitable, then there is no such thing as racial equality in culture.”<sup>21</sup>

Wissler points out that although children of various races may do equally well in elementary school, the actual test of difference is the invention of fundamental traits with success—some races as some individuals can invent better. He then turns to recognize the superorganic nature of culture, and concludes by noting that with race constant, culture can be explained solely in terms of cultural processes, but since race is a variable, cultures in a constant environment are also conditioned by race—“for the truth of the matter seems to be that any given type of culture is a resultant of two variables, race and environment.”<sup>22</sup>

Of course, the racio-culturalists do not accept the doctrine of Nordic superiority. In fact, Sorokin takes pains to review the modern statistics on this point.<sup>23</sup> The majority of Terman’s 594 gifted children were of a mesocephalic type; Dr. Parsons’ study shows the cranial indices of high social groups and of criminals in England about the same; A. MacDonald finds that “long headedness increases in children as ability decreases.”

The measurements of children of Liverpool by Muffang; of the skulls of Polish nobility, educated groups, and common people by Talko-Hrynciwitz; of Spanish students and people by Oloriz; of Belgian murderers by Hegor and Dallemagne; of various classes in Italy by Livi; and other similar measurements do not show any evidence of this alleged dolichocephaly of the upper classes in Europe.”<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture*, p. 289.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 290-301.

<sup>23</sup> P. Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, pp. 266-276.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 271.

Sorokin, however, finds evidence of intellectual inequality in races. He cites the researches of twenty modern psychologists, all of which show the same type of difference between whites and Negroes. Researches also show differences between whites and Indians, and Brahman and Panchanca children. Differences between the various European stocks, however, are contradictory and do not show evidence of Nordic superiority. Sorokin is not solely a racio-culturalist, but he would consider race and culture as two important factors conditioning human behavior.

Disagreeing with both the racialists and the culturalists is Hankins' criticism of the "all or none" attitude of many members of both schools. He says that the solutions of the "all or noners" "represent a metaphysical stage of explanation in which now race, now climate, and now culture or psycho-social environment become the magic principles which solve all difficulties. . . . Every factor essential to the appearance of an event must be included in its causal explanation, and a change in any such factor will alter the event."<sup>25</sup>

Hankins approves the cultural school but would take a more organic point of view as does Cooley, "Whether I speak English as my mother tongue or Japanese is obviously a matter of environment. So also the explanation of many important matters of belief, morals, and manners. But if we try to explain why it is that individuals from substantially the same cultural environment achieve quite different levels in the society to which they belong, we shall in most cases be correct in attributing the major weight to their organic differences."<sup>26</sup> Hankins also points out that it is not known whether all varieties of men belong to the same species, that long periods produce differentiation in

<sup>25</sup> F. Hankins, *The Racial Basis of Civilization*, pp. 362-368.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 368-369.

type, that among various race groups there is an overlapping as regards any particular quality (height, cephalic index or intelligence), that some traits possessed in larger frequency by one race may make possible advanced cultural development, that "as regards cultural capacities, it is the relative proportions of the two groups in the upper ranges of abilities and the relative maxima attained by their highest specimens which are of importance," and that "a higher average for any trait is accompanied in the same group by higher proportions in the upper ranges of the distribution."<sup>27</sup>

To illustrate these contentions Hankins mentions that Japanese and Jews will copy a high culture rapidly and even improve upon it while the Negro who in certain sections has had many opportunities fails in adequate adjustment to the new culture. This is due, according to Hankins, to the inferior mental ability of the Negro as shown by many of the same psychologists as quoted by Sorokin.

After many illustrations and quotations which seem to substantiate racial inequality Hankins sums up his raciocultural point of view by saying "that the theory that culture begets culture has important contributions to make to sociological theory, but it cannot dispense with the variable human factor. Culture does, indeed sometimes, but not always beget culture; and when it does it does so only through the medium of the human mind."<sup>28</sup>

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The primary purpose of this paper has been to contrast rather sharply the position of three schools of thought as regards the influence of racial and cultural explanations of civilization. As has been pointed out, the racialists assume

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 292-306.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 371.

that differences in culture are to be explained in terms of race—that biological factors in races are determiners of more or less specific cultural traits. The racialists have selected the blue-eyed, fair-skinned, tall, long-headed race as the superior race. The culturalists, on the other hand, deny the influence of race by affirming that racial differences are unproved, that different cultures are found in the same race, that different races are found in the same culture, and that culture traits, therefore, can be explained in terms of their own history. The racio-culturalists agree that specific cultural traits can be explained largely in terms of their own history, but insist that some races (not necessarily Nordic) or biological groups probably have the possibility of a wider range of variation in conditioning complexity and hence the possibility of reactions to cultural patterns by some of its members not possible for any members of another race. This factor would, according to the racio-culturalists, explain the differential in inventions. Hence race as well as cultural background must be studied before a particular culture can be explained.

In the light of the studies of Pavlov, Mateer, Watson, Allport, Jennings, and Child, and others, it seems probable that one may deny the existence of many mystical and specific determiners to behavior in any individuals. It would follow, then, that the arguments of the racialists for specific biological determiners of civilization are weak—that their fundamental contention apparently collapses. This apparent collapse shows up in a much stronger light the cultural explanation of civilization. Possibly, the only explanation of a cultural trait that can be made is in terms of its own history. It seems, however, that the culturalists' explanation of culture will be more valid when statistical and experimental data can show more conclusively an absence of differences in mental or conditioning ability

among races. Ogburn claims that man has not changed since the time of Cro-Magnon while culture has changed much. This is probably true in its general aspects; but even slight variations in mental ability may allow culture in one group to become more complex than in another. However, the culturalists' contention that invention cannot be explained in terms of mental ability but in terms of the history of the particular trait (Ogburn) may weaken the argument of the racio-culturalists somewhat. The person of high ability, on the other hand, apparently does not have any *specific* object to invent. An invention may not be made without him—but *what is not to be made may not be determined by the individual or the race but by the culture*. This point of view would make culture the chief source of explanation of culture.

## HUMAN NATURE ON TRIAL

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A SIGNIFICANT time at which to study behavior traits<sup>1</sup> is when persons are acting under stress of circumstances. At such times the inner and deeper elements of personality break forth spontaneously. There is not likely to be any guarded or protected behavior. Personality in all its realism is displayed.<sup>2</sup>

If persons can be observed under similar conditions of stress and strain, the results may be expected to possess special value. It has been possible for the writer to make such observations while acting in a contact capacity in a hospital during a period of four years. The objective behavior of persons who appear at a hospital information desk would seem to be fairly representative of human life. Sooner or later, different members of all types and classes of society, rich and poor, learned and uneducated come to a hospital. Hence this study may be expected to represent a cross section of society life.

The behavior traits under observation seem to fall naturally into three general classes: (1) undeveloped and untrained behavior, (2) dominant and recalcitrant behavior, and (3) considerate and helpful behavior. This arrangement runs a gamut from the non-social to the socialized.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See L. L. Bernard, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, Chapter VIII, "Behavior Patterns: Their Nature and Development," Holt, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> For a statement of the sense in which the term "personality" is used here, see E. S. Bogardus, *Fundamentals of Social Psychology*, Century Co., 1924, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> The classification by Franklin H. Giddings in *Principles of Sociology*, Macmillan, 1896, p. 126 ff., was somewhat different: social, non-social, pseudo-social, and antisocial. It might be re-arranged as follows: non-social, pseudo-social, anti-social, and social; and thereby bear some resemblance to the classification that the data in hand justify.

It begins with socially untrained action and ends with the "we-feeling" or acting together type of behavior.<sup>4</sup> Under each of the three divisions, sample descriptions are presented.

#### I. UNDEVELOPED AND UNTRAINED BEHAVIOR

The way people react to directions is of special interest. Very few people can comprehend more than a short sentence. If the directions require more than thirty words, they invariably have to be repeated.<sup>5</sup> I have directed people to use the elevator at the far end of the hall, but the majority will take a dozen steps, see the freight elevator and stop, although a sign there directs them to the other elevator. It is not unusual to have to repeat a room number several times; many people cannot remember two different room numbers. They have to write the numbers down. Often it seems as though they do not listen or think about what is said. Of course there are those who are alert and seem to grasp details easily. Messenger boys seldom ask to have directions repeated.

One day a friend sat by my desk. Finally she asked, "Why do you tell people that 400 is on the fourth floor and that 329 is on the third floor? Don't you know that you are insulting people's intelligence? Everybody knows that the floor number is indicated by the first digit of the room number?"

"All right," I replied, "you listen for a while if you think that I am insulting people's intelligence." So, as the visitors asked for the patients' room I gave only the number, and with scarcely an exception they asked what floor the room was on. My friend said she had no idea that people in general did not know how to find a room in a building.

<sup>4</sup> See E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology*, Century, 1920, Ch. XXX, "Socialization."

<sup>5</sup> Of course there is a chance that the one who is directing may be at fault.

Many come to a hospital under deep emotion of joy or sorrow. It is interesting to note how people under similar circumstances react in different ways. Some who are extremely happy do not seem to care how much amusement they furnish the employees of the institution, while those who are worried and fearful lose control of themselves to the extent that they require more attention than the patient. Some will talk in loud and irritating ways, until everyone is annoyed, while others are so nervous that they are unable to help themselves.

One evening a man and his wife came to the information desk, wanting to use the telephone. A relative was very ill, and they were afraid that she would not get well.<sup>6</sup> For that reason they were both so excited that neither could use the coin box telephone to get the number; so they asked me for the number. After I obtained the number for them, the woman, who tried to talk, could scarcely make herself understood because she was fairly screaming into the telephone.

There is a type of person who is afraid to ask questions. I have seen such persons enter the house and walk aimlessly around, and when approached by someone who could help them, seem at a loss as to just what they wanted. They act very much as though they shouldn't ask questions. And sometimes it takes much questioning to find out what they want or where they want to go.<sup>7</sup>

One day an elderly woman stopped at the desk. When I asked if I could help her she began to tell me how she felt. I surmised that her time was not very limited, and that she liked to tell her troubles to anyone who would listen. I didn't have time to talk, and so tried to bring her

<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless she did.

<sup>7</sup> Another interesting query may be made: Why does a man when accompanied by a woman usually insist that the woman ask at the desk for information?

directly to the point by asking if she wanted to go to the clinic, or if she wished to be recommended to a doctor, or if she had a doctor who had sent her there for treatment. I learned that she wanted to go to the clinic; so I directed her how to get there. After I finished she said, "I want to finish telling you my story." She finally concluded by telling me that she thought she had an ingrowing toenail. Then I had to redirect her to the clinic. I had saved no time for she was determined to tell her story.

Then there is the man who telephoned in and said that he wanted to inquire about his brother.

"All right," I answered, "what is your brother's name?"

"He was operated on yesterday for appendicitis by Dr. ——. I just wondered how he is this morning," was the reply.

"Yes," I replied, "but what is your brother's name?"

"He was awfully sick, and the doctor said it was a pretty bad case, but they think that he will get along all right. I would like to know how he is this morning?"

Again I asked, "What is your brother's name?"

"He is in the ward on the first floor," he replied.

With that enlightening bit of information I turned the call to the first floor nurse, still not knowing who the man was inquiring about. It is not unusual for people to waste much time with unnecessary details. However, one can go to the other extreme as the next illustration will show.

A man stopped at the desk, and said in a questioning voice, "John Anderson?" I thought that he wanted to know the whereabouts of John Anderson. As the name was not familiar, I turned to my file, and after looking carefully and not finding the name, I said, "I do not have such a name in my file. Do you know how long he has been here?"

"I am John Anderson," he replied. "Dr. —— sent me here to be admitted as a patient." His voice clearly indi-

cated that he thought I was stupid not to know. If he had told me in the first place that he was John Anderson, it would have helped me in understanding what he wanted.

## II. DOMINANT AND RECALCITRANT BEHAVIOR

One of the most difficult types of persons to deal with is the overbearing type who will not regard rules or the rights of others.<sup>8</sup> One illustration is that of a wealthy man whose son was a patient in the house. The son occupied one of the most expensive rooms. The father's attitude was, that he had come to the hospital for service, and that everything should be at his command. He did not complain about the expense. I do not know that he ever questioned a charge, but he simply would not conform to the rules and regulations of the house. For example, it is customary for the friends and relatives of the patients to use the coin box telephones, but this he would not do. He insisted that all of his calls should be put out by the hospital operator; he would use the office telephones or go to the doctors' conference room, where visitors are not allowed. He did not have the good will of the employees, and no one regretted the departure of this man and his son.

It is a common occurrence for a person to make a mistake regarding the hospital in which his friend is a patient. I have had some people tell me that they knew absolutely that the patient was in the house, even after I had looked through my files. One such experience was with a man who was rather sarcastic about the way we kept records because I could not locate his friend for him. He informed me that he would telephone the relatives and get the room number. He went to the public telephone. In a few minutes he hurried out the door without looking in my direction.

<sup>8</sup> Frequently these are persons whose egocentric tendencies are highly developed.

On another occasion, I explained to a lady that a certain patient was not in the house. She was not satisfied, and because she was so sure that her friend was there, went from floor to floor asking the nurses about her. On each floor a nurse would call me and ask if such a person was in the house. However, the lady did not find the patient.

Another time a man asked for the location of a child whose name was not on my file. He said that he knew the child was there because he had talked with the mother on the telephone. A child answering to his description was not in the Children's Ward, nor could I find such a name in any of the other files. He was very much disturbed over the matter, but I was powerless to help him. He was so very disagreeable that there was little incentive to try, but I did the best I could. As he was leaving the house, he met the mother of the child coming in. He re-entered the hospital, and as he passed my desk he said in the most sarcastic tone imaginable, "You had better get your records straight. She is in room 302." This is a private room, and the patient listed there had a different name than that for which he had asked.

I called the nurse on the floor and asked her to find out just how the patient should be listed. The mother of the child sent back word that we had the name correct, but that the gentleman in question had never known the child's real name. The mother was very sorry that he had been so disagreeable and unkind, but the man's attitude was unchanged. Probably no explanation was ever made to him as to why he had difficulty in locating the patient.

The type that takes advantage in the little things makes it harder for the next person in a similar position, because one's spirit of trustfulness has been inhibited. One afternoon a woman brought her four-year-old-son in to visit the maternity department. She knew that children were

not permitted on the floor, but she had no one with whom to leave her son at home. He was a lively, inquisitive youngster, and I did not think that I could watch him and attend to my work. However, she wanted to go so badly that I felt sorry, and wanted to help her. She said that she would not be gone more than fifteen minutes; so with the help of a nurse I agreed to keep the boy for her. The mother was gone two hours. When she came down after visiting hours were over, she made no excuse for having left the child so long. She thanked me, and said that she hoped that the boy had not been too much trouble.

It is intensely interesting to observe the reaction of people to rules. Many act as though you had personally insulted them by telling them that it is against the rules to do what they want to do.<sup>9</sup> Some will openly defy the rules, while others will evade them with the hope that they will not get caught, and still others want to be the exception. I once heard a preacher say that each person has a habit of thinking that in the Final Judgment there will be a special dispensation for him. And it would be no wonder, for people practice it so much here. I do not mean to infer that it is not wise to make exceptions to rules in some cases, but it apparently is unsocialized attitudes which lead people to be exceptions under all circumstances.

There are not many who will openly defy the rules, but occasionally we meet them. Once a man, whose wife was a patient in the maternity department, brought his small son in to see his mother. When he was told that children were not allowed to visit on that floor, he said that he would take the boy anyway. Reasoning was of no avail, and requests from the nurses were ignored. It was reported to the superintendent, who took it up with the doctor on the case, and it was only by telling him that his wife

<sup>9</sup> These are often highly egocentric.

would be moved from the hospital that they were able to get him to abide by that rule.

The following illustration is only one of the many who evade the rules. A girl about nine years of age had been staying with me each afternoon while her father visited with her mother in the maternity ward. However, one afternoon she hurried by with her father without speaking to me. I thought it strange, but dismissed the matter, thinking that she just wanted to ride up on the elevator with her father and would then return to my desk. In a few minutes she came running up to me excited and laughing, and told me that she had seen her mother. One could see that she was not only happy that she had seen her mother, but there was that nervous excited feeling that one has when one has dared to do what was forbidden. I asked her how she managed it. She told me that her father told her to keep close to him, and that they would go up on the elevator nearest to the ward where her mother was, and then she could slip in before any of the nurses saw her. He had told her that she would have to come down as soon as the nurses saw her, which they did very soon. Perhaps this incident might suggest an answer to the query as to why modern youth does not have more regard for laws and admonitions of their elders.

### III. CONSIDERATE AND HELPFUL BEHAVIOR

One cannot but admire the person who is capable of self-control under the most trying circumstances. One marvels at the courage and self-possession that is shown by some people who have passed the desk.<sup>10</sup> The following illustrations are outstanding, although there are many more which are perhaps not so unusual.

<sup>10</sup> The origins of this self-possession is a topic worthy of investigation. Some of these self-possessed persons have doubtless come through a long line of harsh experiences.

Not long ago, a gentleman and two young ladies were out driving one Sunday afternoon when another machine, traveling at a high rate of speed, hit their car at an intersection. One girl was killed. The young man was more seriously injured than the other girl who had some slight injuries. They had been given first aid at the receiving hospital. It was necessary for the young man to have hospital care for a time; so the girl ordered a taxi and brought him to our hospital. With perfect control she attended to every detail; she apparently gave no thought to her own injuries. For days afterwards I watched her as she came and went. She was very quiet. There was a sad expression on her face, but she never talked about her troubles.

Another case where a woman showed unusual poise and good judgment lingers in my memory. Her husband was ill in the hospital. She spent as much time as possible with him although she had to stay in the office part of the time. Some of her neighbors took care of their twenty-months' old girl, and one day they gave her a small harmonica to play with, which she swallowed.

The mother not wishing to worry her husband or add to his troubles did not tell him about the accident. The doctor said that he would wait a few days, and if the child was not all right he would have to operate. How well I remember when the mother told me about it, and how anxious she was that her husband should not be worried. She said that she was trying not to worry about the child, but she had thought that she had about all that she could stand before. Still she was hopeful and believed that things would work out all right eventually.

She wanted to be with her husband, and she wanted to stay with her baby, yet she had to go to the office and keep the business running as smoothly as possible. At last when the doctor knew that he would have to operate he

told the father who was then past the crisis. Everyone had a sympathetic interest in the case. The mother and father were very appreciative of everything that was done for them. They were never demanding nor overbearing in word or action, but were always cheerful and cooperative. Often I heard the remark as to what a "brick" the wife and mother was through it all. We were all happy when the little family was reunited in their home. They are business people in moderate circumstances, but a type that one enjoys meeting.

To be tactful is an art; occasionally we find people who are accomplished in this art. Such people usually get what they want without offending anyone, and certainly they are more pleasant to deal with than the overbearing, dominant type.<sup>11</sup> In my work I have met many of this type, but only one illustration, which is a little out of the ordinary, is being given.

One morning a neatly dressed, nice appearing young man, a foreigner, asked to see a young lady in one of the wards. I told him that the visiting hours in the wards were not until afternoon. He wanted to know how she was; so I directed him to the floor, thinking that he would be satisfied to inquire for her and leave a message with the nurse. However, in a few minutes he returned and asked for the office. The nurse had told him that he might see the patient if he could obtain a visitor's slip from the office. When I told him that I issued the special permit slips, he evidently thought that it was necessary to use a little diplomacy, though in reality it was not necessary.

He took a card from his pocket saying as he handed it to me, "I am the Consul of \_\_\_\_\_. She is from my country, and I would like to see her." I know that my face

<sup>11</sup> Again, the fascinating problem of origins of tactfulness comes into the foreground as a possible theme for research.

changed expression as I realized that before me stood a man in the diplomatic service of his country. When I told him that I had a sister living in his country his face lighted up, and he began to ask questions. We conversed for a few minutes before he went back upstairs. He was pleasant with a quiet dignity and a courteous manner. The thing that interested me so much was his manner of first approach. I can hardly imagine the average American ever passing the desk in the first place without making his position known.

She was not beautiful, neither was she richly dressed, but she could ask for help in such a way that one was glad to be of service. It was on a Sunday afternoon, and she had just arrived from the East, and had come directly from the train to the hospital. She was looking for a brother, who was in our hospital, when she had heard from him last. He had been out for a month, however, and was living in a suburban town. Then, she wanted to get in touch with him on the telephone, but didn't know how to use the coin box telephone; so I had to put a long distance call through to her brother.

Then she wanted to go to the Y.W.C.A. Hotel, but had no idea as to its location or how to get there. After I had secured that information for her she asked for the telephone directory saying that she wanted to look up some other information, and did not want to bother me so much. However, in a short time she came back unable to find what she wanted. She was trying to find a church of her creed near the hotel where she intended to stay. When she was finally satisfied that she knew where she was going, she thanked me and left.

Her appreciation was expressed in a simple and sincere way; I did not feel that she had been disturbing, although she had taken more of my time than ten persons that day.

I tried to analyze the incident and to determine what it was about her personality that made me glad that I had met her. I think that she could truly answer to the description of a socialized personality. She was frank; she didn't know how to find her way in this city, and said so. She was very courteous; she was not annoyed nor the least bit impatient when I had to wait on other people. She was appreciative and sincere; she knew the value of a simple "Thank you."

It is the socially considerate personalities that make one's work a pleasure; if it were not for them my work would be drudgery. If one could watch human nature with me for a few days, he would see that it is the people who are kind, thoughtful, courteous, considerate, and pleasant who usually get what they want with ease, and who leave good will in the hearts of those with whom they come in contact.

Work at an information desk teaches one much about human nature, even though the contacts are sometimes brief and of short duration. One learns through experiences something of how to deal with people. But I often think as I watch the rank and file pass my desk:

"O wad some Pow'r the giftie gie us  
To see ousels as others see us,  
It wad frae mony a blunder free us,  
And foolish notion."

## THE SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS OF THE VILLAGERS IN CHINA

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IT IS ALMOST a universal conception that selfishness of the we-group or the in-group always exists and that the others-groups or out-groups are consequently differentiated. Sumner, in referring to primitive society, states that "Their relation to all out-groups or outsiders is one of war and plunder." To my mind, this is true but in different degrees.<sup>1</sup>

It is the desire of the writer to attempt a study of one particular Chinese village, and to ask the question: Do the Chinese farmers have the above group attitude or not? If the above is true, how far do the group ideas extend? Are the farmers' social contacts sympathetic or arbitrary? This paper will deal, first, with method of geographical division and of local organization. Secondly, investigation will be made as to the degree of out-group and in-group attitudes within a certain family in the village; and thirdly, between the different families in the village. Lastly, the relations of villages to each other will be considered.

Broadly speaking, in China, 80 per cent of the people are farmers. They live in villages in the country. Every village conducts its own affairs; take for instance, the local educational system, public establishments, etc. These functions are mostly performed by a group of elders who generally receive the highest respect from their fellow associates.<sup>2</sup> But, in addition to this group of elders, a "Tuen-

<sup>1</sup> W. G. Sumner, *Folkways*, p.12.

<sup>2</sup> H. B. Morse, *The Trade and Administration of China*, p. 34.

Cheng" or a leader is nominated by the members of the village. His duty is similar to the American city mayor. Tuen-Cheng is the one who attends mostly in person to all the proposed projects. Besides, a vice mayor is elected for assistance. None of these leaders receives a salary. Their voluntary spirit of sacrifice for all is admirable.

"Hsien," or a separate district, consists of a number of villages. A municipal government is established with the appointed magistrate as the head. He is responsible to the entire district and has absolute power in governing his villagers.<sup>3</sup> He collects taxes for the use of carrying out the public functions of the Hsien. He maintains a limited number of soldiers for the protection of the people against robbers. An educational system and a judicial court are also directed by him with a number of assistants. Speaking as a whole, we may liken the Hsien to a small independent nation because everything is attended to by the magistrate. A number of Hsiens constitute a province in which a governor is at the head. His duty is very similar to that of an American governor. Above him is, of course, the National Government.

## II

The particular village in which the writer is interested has the same organization as indicated in the above description. The village is situated about 90 *li*<sup>4</sup> south of Peiping (Peking). It is the birthplace of the writer. People who live in this little community have a miserable life, for they only have a few *mao*<sup>5</sup> to plant. Nevertheless, their social life is of a higher standard than their material com-

<sup>3</sup> J. E. Baker, *Explaining China*, p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> Three *li* make a mile.

<sup>5</sup> About seven *mao* make an acre.

forts. The population of this village is about 600. No stores, theatres, public parks exist. Villagers of this place know very little except how to cultivate their land. They get up early in the morning about 4 o'clock, eat their breakfast, take their noon meal with them, and go out to the field some distance away. They do not return until dark.

It may be a surprise to Americans that there are only eight or nine families in this certain village, yet the population is 600. Consequently, the families are very large. We may cite as an example, the families that are named Liu; they comprise over half of the entire village. They are near relatives although they may live separately in different court yards. Suffice it to say, the Liu families originated from one ancestor. Evidently the blood has been very pure. And, of course, the social traits and habits of the ancestors have been directly inherited by their descendants. Tracing back the Liu's family history, a record which every family keeps, the Lius have been living in the same spot for about 1000 years. My father was the first person that left the village, after securing his western education and establishing his home in a city. It is really the first instance in the whole history of the Liu family. Yet intimate relations with the family in the village are just as friendly as before.

With the above factors in view, investigation may now be made as to the degree of out-group and in-group relationships within the Liu family itself and, whether the family members' relations are sympathetic or arbitrary. To begin with, I may draw the general conclusion that there are no distinct groups formed. In other words, little prejudice is shown against one another. Examples of prejudice may sometimes be found but they are easily settled by the leader of the family because he has absolute power. He attempts as hard as he can to maintain peace; we-

group attitudes are absolutely prohibited in the family circle.<sup>6</sup> He has the power to interfere if the others-attitude prevails. Perhaps it is a good thing that the head of the family has supreme power. Otherwise, there would be strife between plundering of the crowded family members all day long. In spite of the fact that the modern students criticize the large family system because members of the large family are in very close contact with one another, their attitudes are not always sympathetic. Quarrels consequently occur, especially among woman folks, for they stay at home together most of the time, although the family leader suppresses these quarrels. There seems to be a growing tendency to favor the western family system. Without question such a system will gain a foothold in the Orient.

Summing up the above considerations concerning family contact, one may say that, on the surface, the we-groups and the in-groups are not prominent but this does not mean that a sympathetic attitude is always present between the members of the family. Though a sympathetic attitude may not always exist, it does not necessarily indicate that they look upon each other arbitrarily. For, the idea of arbitrariness is not popular in China as it is in India or other places in the East.

### III

Having dealt with the various attitudes in a particular family, now let us turn our attention to the contacts between families in the village. As I have stated in the previous paragraph, the Liu's form 80 per cent of the entire population of the village. Supposing that the Liu group adopted a "we-group" attitude toward the others, the re-

<sup>6</sup> Tradition gives the family leader such a power of functioning and "the habit of obedience to leaders." See J. E. Baker, *Explaining China*, p. 64.

maining 20 per cent of the population might be forced out of the village. Once a serious conflict took place between two groups. I was loyal to my we-group. Ill feeling existed between these two groups for a time. It might be well to ask why few conflicts arise between the we-group and the other-group or the Liu family with the other families. To my mind, the people who are living in the village have too hard a time in their struggle for existence. They have no time to pick faults with each other when they do not yet know where to look for the next month's food. Poverty forces them to be more sympathetic. Secondly, as all the Chinese sages were born in North China, such as Confucius, Mencius, and other well-known philosophers, the people of the North have been more or less influenced by ideals of peace and brotherhood advocated by these leaders. From time immemorial such signs as *Tien hchia yi chia*, (one family under Heaven) and *Ssu hai chih neh chieh hsuing ti yeh* (within the four seas all are brethren) are frequently found in Chinese homes.

Many illustrations of goodwill relations between families may be cited, from which we hope that better relationships between the we-group and the other-group may be developed. In case of misfortune of a certain family, all the villagers will do everything within their power to help. Take for instance a funeral. The coffin that the family uses is made of hard wood. It is big and heavy. It requires at least twenty to thirty strong men to carry it to the family's own cemetery which is often situated miles away. The expense of buying the coffin usually reaches the limit of the family budget. In case after case the neighbors have to help financially. The same thing is done at the time of marriage. It is the custom that the bride has to be carried in a sedan chair from her home to the groom's home; this requires at least twenty men. Such assistance is all voluntary, for the farmers believe that helping each

other is the only way by which friendliness and love can be attained. Comradeship and peace is the only motto of the farmers in these relationships. It seems to me that the villagers are trying as hard as they can to do what Christ advocates, "Love your neighbors as yourself."

What has just been stated seems contrary to Sumner's statement, "The closer the neighbors and the stronger they are, the intenser is the warfare."<sup>7</sup> It can be said that the social contacts of the members of this particular village are sympathetic. They are not arbitrary. Another case may further illustrate this point. On the first of January, each year, about four o'clock, the older folks remain at home, and the younger ones go out to every family of the entire village to wish a happy new year to the older folks and to each other as well.<sup>8</sup> With such friendly ways existing between the different families in the village, how can the evils of the we-group and out-group prevail in such a community? How can the arbitrary attitude express itself in such a beautiful harmony?

## IV

We will next investigate the relationships between villages. According to my own observation, I feel that the attitude of the villages just described is one of sympathy and friendliness. Cooperation seems natural between them. No doubt the reader has often received the impression that the Chinese villagers are often in severe financial straits. Whenever a good crop is harvested, the farmers always plan some sort of entertainment with the following purposes in mind: first, to thank God for His generosity; secondly, to give the people some recreation which they may not have had for years. It would be beyond the financial means of any single village to consummate such a plan. It costs a

<sup>7</sup> Sumner, *Folkways*, p. 12.

<sup>8</sup> February in Western calendar.

huge sum of money to invite actors and actresses from the city to give outside programs which usually consist of Chinese drama. However, the farmers earnestly desire to realize these plans. Under such conditions, cooperation between villages finds its place here. At such a time the village mayors take charge of arrangements. When that day comes, all the villagers of the Hsien gather and enjoy this rare and special occasion. Is not this a manifestation of sympathy? There seems to be no evidence of an arbitrary attitude between the villagers. If the antagonism of the we-group prevailed, it would be impossible for them to assemble and enjoy the entertainment at one place. If there were group difference, the we-group loyalty perhaps would not allow such a cooperation with the other villages. One more picture which shows that the villages' relationships are happy is that whenever any village is in danger from robbers, the neighbor villages are on hand for help at any moment. What would you call this? "The closer the neighbors . . . , the intenser is the warfare"?

It is not the writer's desire to be dogmatic in this investigation concerning the relationships of the said villagers. It is evident that there are exceptions to the above conditions. The reader should keep in mind that this article is a local investigation of the in-group and out-group relationships of a given village. I have no doubt that within the boundary of China, quite the reverse conditions may be found. Take for example, in the southern part of China, the clan idea is on the eve of its most serious crisis. The people are willing to sacrifice everything for the honor of their own clan. Tong wars of Chinatown in the United States and in other countries are concrete examples which bring out the idea that "the relation of the we-group to the out-group or outsiders is one of war and plunder." Here it is often true that "the closer the neighbors, the stronger they are and the intenser is the warfare."

## FILIPINO IMMIGRANT ATTITUDES

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THE MOVEMENT in the United States to exclude Filipinos has been described in the first article of the present series.<sup>1</sup> An explanation of this movement in terms of the attitudes of Americans was given in the second article.<sup>2</sup> The next statement in this series was given by D. F. Gonzalo, a Filipino student in the University of Southern California who discussed some of the adjustment problems of Filipinos in the United States.<sup>3</sup> This angle to the total situation is carried further in this, the fourth article in the series.

The facts presented in these articles get their meanings only in terms of human attitudes. No social movement involving the welfare of two racial groups can be understood apart from a comparison of the attitudes of each group. No American can make up his mind regarding the proposed Filipino exclusion law without first giving attention to the attitudes of the Filipinos themselves. Hence this digest is presented.

The materials for this report have come (a) through interviews with Filipinos up and down the Pacific Coast from Seattle to San Diego, as well as from other parts of

<sup>1</sup> "The Filipino Immigrant Problem," *Sociology and Social Research*, XIII:472-79.

<sup>2</sup> "American Attitudes towards Filipinos," *Sociology and Social Research*, XIV: 56-59. A summary of the Filipino problem is given in a pamphlet by the present writer, entitled "The Filipino Immigrant Situation," Council on International Relations, Los Angeles, 1929.

<sup>3</sup> "Social Adjustment of Filipino Immigrants," *Sociology and Social Research*, XIV:123-32.

the United States, and (b) from the Filipino press in the United States.<sup>4</sup> Data have been obtained from newly arrived Filipinos as well as from those who have been here a number of years. Filipinos of different types and in different occupations are represented.

These reactions fall chiefly under expectation, disappointment, and independence attitudes. They are to be explained in part by the Filipino's configuration of personality upon arrival, by the culture traits which have gone into the making of his personality configuration, and by the experience which he daily meets in this country.

#### I. EXPECTATION ATTITUDES

Nearly all Filipinos arrive in the United States with attitudes of exuberant expectation. They have heard or have read many wonderful things about this country. Motion pictures have thrilled the imagination. The strong imaginative nature has been played upon by the golden reports of America. The Filipino has responded to lively portrayals with wholehearted and poetic enthusiasm. For instance: "As early as my first school days, I have learned interesting and inspiring facts about the United States, especially its educational institutions. These facts have kept me dreaming of seeing this wonderful land."<sup>5</sup> The newcomer can hardly realize that at last he is in the land of his dreams. It is too good to be true. He at once begins to picture his own glorious future. He writes home "with feverish enthusiasm, telling them (friends and parents) of his secret aspirations, his future triumphs, and his coming back as a worthy son of his country."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Such as *The Philippine Republic* (Washington, D. C.), *The Three Stars* (Stockton, California), *The Philippine Progress* (Los Angeles), *The Filipino Nation* (Los Angeles), and the *Philippine Free Press* (Manilla, P. I.).

<sup>5</sup> From letter by A. B. S.

<sup>6</sup> D. F. Gonzalo, "Social Adjustment of Filipino Immigrants," *op. cit.*, p. 124.

The Filipino's expectation comes partly from the alleged large opportunities for success in this country. The lack of economic development of the Philippines and the reported wealth in the United States account to a degree for the Filipino's high hopes. His ambition is quickly fired by American drive and initiative which he encounters on landing. He dreams in terms of skyscrapers. He may send home money out of his first scant earnings with the implication that he will return home rich. He determines to work hard, even feverishly, and perhaps some day he may "even have a height limit building of his own," marry the girl of his choice, and reflect great credit upon his parents and country. "As early as my first school days I learned interesting and inspiring facts about the United States, especially its educational institutions. Those facts had kept me dreaming of seeing this wonderful land. My dreams came true when I sailed off the Philippine shore almost three years ago."<sup>7</sup>

As a result of dynamic drives the Filipino overlooks his first disappointments. He accepts the first work that he can secure, and performs the manual tasks unflinchingly. He arrives on the strength of his expectations, and these carry him over his first obstacles with relative ease. "He takes the jobs avoided by most wage earners—what matters? He works hard for many long hours every day without feeling the least fatigue. Somehow, his mind which is highly intoxicated with all kinds of elastic thoughts numbs his nerves and renders him unconscious of his toil—washing dishes. Bless his hopeful, untried, unspoiled heart! He wears an unaffected smile upon his countenance—his back aches but no matter. His hands are willing workers."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> From ms. by A. B. S.

<sup>8</sup> From ms. by D. F. G.

## II. DISAPPOINTMENT ATTITUDES

Presently, disillusionment sets in. Repeated and continuous disappointments bring chagrin. Many American customs are low grade; some are shocking. One out of many American ways which are reported as shocking is the freedom shown by American girls toward boys and men. "The thing that shocked me most about America is the way the girls act toward boys. One day I went to the beach and saw nothing but the most scandalous thing in my life, almost naked girls, men, and women. I said to my self, 'What a pity! My country never can and never will reach this (low) type of civilization.' "<sup>9</sup>

The Filipino quickly recoils from the sting of prejudice. Americans take him for an Oriental, a Japanese, or some undesirable person, and treat him beneath his sense of personal dignity. He is often employed by people who want to keep him on a low-grade level, who are ignorant of his thrilling dreams, who do not understand that he is accepting menial tasks only as a means to a noble end.

Upon landing on United States soil, I began to encounter another new life which I had never thought of before. I realized then how the people of my own race live in this country and the kinds of jobs open for them. My impressions as to how some of the American people feel towards the Filipinos were then increasing. Many of these impressions were very discouraging. My very first impression was based upon the following belief. Not long after I arrived in this country, I applied to a family where I could work as a school-boy. Unfortunately, I was debarred from the place on account of the fact that I didn't know about "laundry business." Upon declaring to the old lady, known as mother of the family, that I could not attend to any washing of clothing, she remarked that she was very surprised to hear of a Filipino boy who doesn't understand washing clothes. Upon hearing this, I smiled at her, just to make her not feel that she had hurt my feelings. Further conversation between us went on

<sup>9</sup> From ms. by R. S.

and finally she said that she wanted a school boy who could work in the garden, do the washing, housekeeping and serving, and cooking. I was of course shocked by this enumeration of the work and I decided to think the matter over and departed. I did not go over to see her any more and I tried to find another position but encountered a similar story. On encountering these events I wondered more and more, how the American people feel towards us. As the days went on, I often heard such instances occurring between my people and some of the American people, which proves to me that many of the American people think that all Filipinos know all kinds of work. But no indeed. This belief or idea is false to any new Filipino comer in this country. The situation of living and the jobs imposed upon us and sometimes the treatment given us are dragging most of the Filipino students in this country out of school. We are shocked to meet so many embarrassing Filipino situations in this country. I would like to emphasize to any American employer that Filipino immigrants in this country are not all used to any domestic work as much as they are not used to the cool climate here. It is urgent therefore that immaterial remarks toward the untrained employee or newcomer are not necessary, and they should not be bawled out for that reason. I'm sure the Filipinos don't care what kinds of jobs are imposed upon them but the employer should see to it that proper treatment should be given them.

We often meet American people both of high, low and noble classes who ignore the real situation of the Filipinos. They think that the Filipinos are yet uncivilized and wild people. This idea of the American people often causes the Filipinos to be debarred from some amusements such as, dance halls, swimming pools, and other similar places of entertainment. We often find people in this country who abuse us more when we respect them more. The higher we address them the more they abuse us. To these groups of people I would say that they lack respect for themselves.

I don't mean to say that all Filipino people are perfect for all people of a nation are not perfect. If there are bad, lazy and wild people in the Philippines this is true also of any country. But it is a surprise to any Filipino to meet some Americans of high attainment making disgusting remarks about the Filipino people and at the same time ignoring the real situation and government of the Philippines.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> From ms. by A. B. S.

Nothing could be more offensive to self-respecting people than to be called by a prominent American columnist opprobrious names, such as "Mongolian idiots," and "transplanted gorillas." Indiscriminate labelling of this kind is shameful. There is urgent need to put to an end all narrowminded although highly paid exhibitions of prejudice and ignorance.

I went to the swimming pool in M.B. with the brother of a dance hall girl, an American. I was refused admission to the swimming pool and the excuse that the manager gave to me was that the patronizers of the swimimng pools objected to any foreigners to use the pool. I was permitted to rent a bathing suit provided I go out into the ocean to swim. I went into the ocean. I told him I didn't care to go into his swimming pool.<sup>11</sup>

During my active membership in the church, it always puzzled me to find that many members of the same church would converse with me congenially in the church, but when I met them in the streets or in school or later on in college, they acted as if ashamed to talk to me, even more so when they were with their friends. And when sometimes I talked to them in spite of their being with their friends, they looked embarrassed and indicated that I should not appear to be knowing them.<sup>12</sup>

I do not think I will ever expose my feeling to the American people in printed words while I am here. I know better now. Few years ago I shall have been glad to be erratic. But at present, I have learned the golden value of silence. I told you enough how I feel about the things that I have been through and I think you understand. If I let myself go, I know that your people will not like it. It is American psychology of flattery that I am afraid of. I mean the Americans want to be flattered. The time you criticize them, they will hate you. As one of the professors said to me one day, 'Mr. X, do not pick out our bad side. See our good qualities only.'<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> From data secured by N. F.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*

The Filipino immigrant frequently finds himself held at a mistrustful arm's length, and at the same time hears it said that he is unassimilable. He comes from an American possession and yet is told that he is not a citizen of the United States and can never become such no matter how worthy he may be. He learns that a movement is on foot to exclude him which is embarrassing to him, and yet if he is not wanted and asks for independence he meets with a denial. He feels that he is not wanted and yet he is denied release—which to his way of thinking is disgraceful treatment.

He is denied admittance to American homes on a social basis. He begins "to make faces at himself in the mirror for having made himself a big fool in telling everyone of the achievements that will eventually be his." His reactions are sometimes disastrous. These attitudes fall into two types: (1) of resentment and of wishing to return to the Philippines; and (2) of personality disorganization. The latter set of attitudes is illustrated by the tendency to seek in his spare hours "the places and companionships that can make him forget, even for a moment, that he has become a slave." He sometimes resorts in his despair to gambling houses and low-grade dance halls. Sometimes he goes to the Chinese gambling places or he may even set up his own.

Most of the Filipinos go to Chinese gambling houses because they have no other place to go. Nor have they any source of social and mental activities which would take their leisure hours. In L. they provide the lunch for all the gamblers and this is true to some extent in S.D. (all meals, lunch and dinner). There is no admission charge. Those Filipinos who do not have money beg from those who have. The Chinese gambling houses by providing meals encourage vagrancy. The boys go in and stay all day. They also encourage idleness and destroy morals, for sometimes these vagrants rob the Chinese, by grabbing the money and running away. There are no women in these gambling houses. Several cases of robbing in this

way happened in S.D. and one time one boy was shot here, a Filipino boy. You see these things are not well taken care of because we are Filipinos—they don't care whether we die or live.

There are three or four gambling houses in S. and they are now wholly patronized by Filipinos. There is also a gambling house owned by Filipinos. Yes, there are gambling houses in the Philippines just the same as with the Americans. You ought to know about the Elks Club and other clubs, even the Chamber of Commerce, they gamble. The Filipinos work there and that is why I say the Americans are hypocrites.<sup>14</sup>

The change that comes in the attitudes of some Filipino young women in the United States is protested by other Filipinos. Considerable responsibility for untoward changes is doubtless to be laid at the feet of Americans and American institutions. The Filipino, of course, is human, and comes with attitudes susceptible and non-susceptible to change. One Filipino woman goes so far as to say that she cannot see how any Filipino girl can fail to go wrong in the United States. She is opposed "to any Filipino girl going to the States unaccompanied. Keep them at home! We are of a different temperament altogether from the Americans. . . . We cannot adopt flapper ways with impunity."<sup>15</sup>

New defense attitudes are illustrated by the movement inaugurated in Stockton, California, early in 1929. At a mass meeting the responsibility for Filipinos who gamble was placed on the Filipinos, on unfavorable working conditions, and on the lax and inadequate police sysstem. The speaker is editor of the *Filipino-American News*.

I am really disappointed that we are obliged to call this mass meeting to make a protest against the admission of our people to the Chinese gambling clubs, which I do not believe we would have to do if we had a good morals squad in C.

<sup>14</sup> From interview secured by N. F.

<sup>15</sup> Miss Felicidad, *The Philippines Herald*, Dec. 20, 1925.

Our people by nature are not gamblers but they are young men, most of them below the age of 20. These young men have high ambition in life but they are easily tempted to take a chance in the Chinese gambling clubs expecting, of course, to make more money in short time to enable them to continue their studies so that in the course of time they, too, can help lift up our people along the progress of civilization. But as we all know very well, their expectations never come true and instead they live in poverty and misery. While those who can't endure the misery and hardships of life, after losing their means and all in these gambling dens became law violators and potential criminals. Most wholly those Filipinos committing crimes in the United States of America are poor innocent victims of gambling and I believe this is also the main cause why so many of our young Americans and other nationalities go astray and begin to live desperately.

I do not object to the admission of our people in the Chinese clubs if they are legitimate social clubs aiming to promote international amity and help develop my people's moral, intellectual and physical progress. If there is any Chinese club in S. tending to accomplish these things for the welfare of my people and for mankind, I'll earnestly devote my time to help them and willingly exert my influence among my people to cooperate with them that humanity be served accordingly. But, where gambling is operated in the so-called Chinese social clubs and inviting my people to throw away their earnings to the detriment of our community, as is the case in the so-called Chinese social clubs in the Chinese districts of S., I., and W.G., I am totally against the admission of our people as every decent, law-abiding citizen.<sup>16</sup>

### III. INDEPENDENCE ATTITUDES

The Filipino immigrant comes with a high loyalty to the Philippine Islands, maintains that loyalty here, and urges independence for his own country at nearly every opportunity. He feels deeply on the subject of independence. He cannot see how the United States in any sense of justice to his people can longer deny freedom. He points to America's great desire for independence a century and

<sup>16</sup> "Stockton Record," May 28, 1929, from address by M. J. Acuna.

a half ago and insists that his own people feel similarly now. One of the objects of the numerous Filipino clubs in the United States is to further in every way the independence movement.<sup>17</sup>

The Filipino's wish for independence is dynamic, and yet on the whole he expresses it with restraint and dignity, especially when speaking with Americans. He usually prefacing his statements by words of appreciation concerning what the United States has done for his country and regarding the greatness of the United States. He indicates how the right to give the Philippines their independence rests entirely with the United States, and then proceeds to point out forcefully the facts which from his viewpoint show that the Philippines are ready for independence. He also expresses his belief without qualification that in the name of justice and fair play the United States can do no other than to grant independence.

The Filipino immigrant comes to the United States with unwavering loyalty to his country. After living here for a time, he maintains that loyalty unchanged. He comes expecting to return, and unlike many other immigrants, this expectation is kept alive in him. His struggle for the independence of the Philippines helps to keep active his loyalty to his home Islands.

The Filipino naturally reacts vigorously against the current proposals to exclude Filipino immigrants and to put a tariff on imports from the Philippines. He feels that the Filipinos are held tightly in one hand by Uncle Sam and are slapped on the cheek by the other hand. Not to be granted independence is bad enough, but at the same time to be excluded from the United States is adding insult to injury.

<sup>17</sup> The Filipino Federation of America furthers the movement for independence as one of its avowed purposes.

The American proposal to exclude Filipinos is often prefaced by an expression favoring independence.<sup>18</sup> Filipinos are so happy to be offered support in their independence struggle that their attention is partly sidetracked from the exclusion plan. As one Filipino says: "The United States can solve the Filipino problem by giving the Islands their independence and by shipping all of us Filipino immigrants back there." Or, according to an editorial: "The Filipino people, however, would offer no objection to making them aliens by law (and in excluding them), provided such a law also would give independence to the Philippines."<sup>19</sup>

The proposed tariff on imports to the United States would harm the Philippine industries. It is interpreted as selfishness on the part of the United States. It strikes at Filipino pride. It creates social distance. Filipino immigrants favor it only as a step toward complete separation between the United States and the Philippines.

At a majority legislative caucus in the Philippine Legislature, it was decided to take advantage of the movement now in progress in Congress toward taxing the islands' products entering the United States and not to oppose such tariff, providing the plan is coupled with the granting of independence.

The Islands consider the tariff America's problem. They admit that she can impose tariffs against anyone she wishes, but will urge that she cannot fairly impose tariffs upon products of the islands without granting independence. This will enable the islands to tax American products and to make their own commercial arrangements throughout the world.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> For instance, resolutions by federations of labor.

<sup>19</sup> *The Three Stars*, Stockton, Calif., March, 1929, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> *The Three Stars*, April, 1929, p. 6.

## Book Notes

**RELIGION IN HUMAN AFFAIRS.** By CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK.  
John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1929, pp. xiv+530.

As the author says, the purpose of this book is "to explain something of the origin, nature, and significance in social life of man's religious attitude." Religion is examined as a culture pattern, an institution. Apt illustrations and details are taken chiefly from the religions of the American Winnebago, the African Eko, and the ancient Egyptians, but other sources are by no means neglected. Although the evolution of religion and forms of religious change through borrowed culture and through leadership are topics well presented, the chapters on disorganization, science and religion, and the rise of social Christianity as functioning in many walks of life today are worthy of special mention. The author stresses the disunity within the religious organization of Western civilization and the decline in supernaturalism, but he also maintains that religion of a Fundamentalist type will persist. Furthermore, the attitudes which will coexist with and perchance replace such Fundamentalist religion will center around art, humanity, and science. Throughout the work there is able citation from, and criticism of, standard books in the field.

J. E. N.

**THE RAIN-MAKERS.** By MARY ROBERTS COOLIDGE. Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1929, pp. xiii+326.

Dr. Coolidge has succeeded wonderfully well in describing and interpreting the life and customs of the Indians of the Southwest, particularly of Arizona and New Mexico. She has exercised special skill in presenting scientific data in a fascinating way for all types of readers. Her sociological background and previous racial studies have enabled her to produce an outstanding work. The incorporating of a considerable number of superior photographs adds greatly to the value of the document. At the outset, the author reveals her willingness to do justice to her theme when she states that "every Indian in his heart considers himself far above the white man," because to the Indian "we are a nation of unmannerly intruders who force our way into their houses, pluck and stare at everything, and then rush on to see more of what we do not take the trouble to comprehend." Social life and order, arts and industries, ceremonies and song, mythology and belief—these are some of the themes covered—both factually and with insight.

E. S. B.

HUMAN HISTORY. By G. ELLIOT SMITH. W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., New York, 1929, pp. xviii+472.

This is a scholarly and useful book in anthropology. The data referring to fossil man and pre-history, industries of primitive men, and the races of mankind, are more or less orthodox and make no especial new contribution, but the style of presentation is more interesting than is true of some books of similar field. At times one wonders why statements should be so definite where it is known that different views are held by other so-called authorities. Selected characteristics describing the behavior of primitive man are given in two chapters, and here the author champions the theory that the "Golden Age" has actually been the experience of primitive peoples before they became tainted by contact with enlightened or "higher" civilizations. The author is of course arbitrary in his choice of material and, despite his challenge, is as biased in view as he regards those who do not subscribe to the Golden Age theory, which is usually regarded as fallacious.

The story of civilization begins with the invention of agriculture in Egypt, and the culture-cluster thus formed leads on to others. For instance, the Kingship and the animistic significance attached to life-giving and protection, symbolism in numerous aspects, the culture traits surrounding mummies and architecture, and many others, are shown as closely interrelated. Typical civilizations are rapidly surveyed, and it is clearly the view of the author that Egypt was the origin of much of the culture found in Elam and Sumer, Crete, Greece, India, etc., and diffusion is pointed out significantly to bear out the theory.

J. E. N.

ETHNOGRAPHY. By LOOMIS HAVEMEYER. Ginn and Company, New York, 1929, pp. vi+522.

The author attempts a unique procedure in that he passes by the main branches of the Caucasoid and Mongoloid races and concentrates on "a few tribes under the main races about which we know, on reliable authority, practically all the typical and significant facts." He then proceeds to describe each according to a definite system: environmental and racial characters, their self-maintenance, self-perpetuation, religion, and social control organization. The underlying purpose is to throw light on the development of social evolution. The peoples chosen are twenty in number, including the Bushmen, Bantus, Tasmanians, Negritos, Dyaks, Eskimos, North American Indians, Aztecs, Incas, Tibetans, Hindus. A descriptive procedure is followed, enabling the reader or student to interpret the materials in terms of social evolution, as he sees fit.

E. S. B.

MEN AND MACHINES. By STUART CHASE. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929, pp. 354.

Man's agitation over the inquisitorial examination of the present trend of the machine and its effects leads the author into presenting what might be called a minute anatomization of the whole cultural complex which the Machine Age has evolved. The erstwhile probers have been designated as philosophers of ecstasy, of gloom, and of the fence-rail, and for the present, the author joins the latter group for the purpose of deciding which way to jump. Guiding himself in the quest, he postulates a number of questions, the answers of which should help him determine the ultimate decision. Don Quixote in search of the attitudes and values of a robot!

The concentration of the huge microscopic eye into the land of the machine starts with an excellent analysis of the nature of tools, ancient and modern. This approach succeeds in giving Mr. Chase ample opportunity for an historical account of the evolution of the machine, and reflects much credit upon his ability to clearly define and comprehend his entire project. Full scope is also given the author's well-known predilection for the presentation of statistical material; in fact, one must needs be grateful for the fruits of the labor thus exposed, but one must also take care not to tumble from the fence-rail into the passing parade, for the figures need not necessarily determine the full meaning of the factual content. No one is perhaps more aware of this than the author himself. The United States has been woefully lax in the gathering of accurate and reliable statistics, especially upon the unemployment situation. Unemployment does indeed present a crucial problem, and Mr. Chase fears that "accelerating unemployment is here; that the park-bench is destined to grow longer."

Other serious problems of this kind are, the loss of handicraft skill; social standardization, degeneration in the quality of goods, and *de-creation*. All of these, however, may possibly have some future hope of repair. Not so with the three great dangers of this Machine Age. These are, according to the author, mechanized warfare, the rapidly-growing mechanical specialization, and the mounting strain upon natural resources. Little concrete assurance is forthcoming that these dangers will be minimized; there is every evidence that the tendencies of the times are such as to magnify them. In the chapter on the "Two-Hour War," there is drawn a picture of horror which may well be kept continuously in mind. "The whole business will be over in a couple of hours. With lungs full of diphenyl chloroarsine we shall not need to worry about anything ever again."

The suggestions as to where the machine does not belong are nicely made and show rare judgment. These call for the repression of war machines, the national control of machines which rob, at one fell swoop, future generations of valuable natural resources, the complete withdrawal of machines creating flimsy and adulterated goods, the slowing down of speed machines which tend to displace workers too fast for re-allocation, and the elimination of those machines which devitalize the physical and mental energy of the workers. On the other side, the social welfare effects of many machines are carefully noted. There is, then, the conclusion that a social control devised by superior intelligence and indomitable conquering will is needed to save labor by labor-saving devices, and that all shall profit, economically, morally, and spiritually, by the Machine and its gifts.

M. J. V.

**WHAT IS EUGENICS?** By MAJOR LEONARD DARWIN. The Galton Publishing Company, New York, 1929, pp. viii+88.

For those interested in obtaining a brief and authoritative discussion of the real meaning of scientific Eugenics, this little book by Major Darwin should be of inestimable value. Probably, no one is better fitted to be the spokesman for this new science of well-being than the author who has practically devoted a half-century of fruitful effort in its behalf. The discussion naturally centers about the kind of men that a progressive nation really needs; it is Darwin's belief that supermen are not desirable; that those who are handicapped socially and economically would do well to have very small families; that family size should depend upon the positions held by the parents; that the physically and mentally defective should not procreate. Several plans for the provision of financial support to those eugenically fit to reproduce are advanced: the family allowance wage; reduction of taxation burdens; and scholarships for the children of fit families. These aids might well be extended to all workmen, artizans, professional and business men whose earnings are such that they discourage families. It is observed, and rightly, that unjustifiable social ambition is the main cause of the small family system of persons of good stock. The book is engagingly and competently written from every point of view. M. J. V.

THIS WORLD OF NATIONS. By PITMAN B. POTTER. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929, pp. xxii+366.

The author tries to show that the present world of nations must become organized on a plane commensurate with world-wide individual and international interests, and to some extent indicates the nature of the problem. He stresses the institutional and procedural aspect of international affairs, particularly the institutional. He also shows that nations are governed primarily by self-interest. There is a light framework of the essentials for understanding international relations and problems, introducing, among other features, international law, diplomacy, treaties, arbitration, war and peace, and the trend of development of the League of Nations is sketched so as to compare the relative interests and influences of various nations. On the whole, the book is very elementary, and its place is that of a popularized version designed for the general reader. J. E. N.

SICK SOCIETY. By A. J. S. KRAUS. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929, pp. 206.

This book is a translation of two German manuscripts by Dr. Kraus—*Die Kranke Gesellschaft* and *Die menschliche Leistungsfähigkeit*. The basic structure of the volume is laid primarily in England, and partly in Germany and the United States. The author contends that there is a lack of basic concepts of society in present-day social philosophy and sociology. There is confusion in thought and chaos in action. Social theory needs to be reconstructed to fit the increasing complexity of social relationship and to furnish a basis for social action.

Humanity is organized into many spatial societies, each forming a unit of social organization and culture. Although these societies are a part of human life as a whole, they represent spatially limited and functional units, with norms to bring separate experiences and events into an ordered and interconnected system. Social telesis is defined as "the normative, organizing force that creates categories involving social power and forms them into one unified social system which holds complete sway within the boundaries of spatial society." The function of social telesis is to integrate the constituent parts of society into an organized form with a general purpose in view.

Society is sick, and this sickness roots in the constitution of society itself. There is an inherent duality of health and disease in society. Social disease occurs when the individuals concerned are asocial beings who for various reasons cannot fit themselves into the grooves of the

social process. The diseases of society may be classed as physical, mental, and moral. The diseased portions of society, lacking in the material, mental, or moral necessities, become dependent upon the healthy portions. This requires new functions, which may be classed under the term "social amelioration." Social amelioration, though an intrinsic factor of economic life, has influences beyond the boundaries of economics. It makes more abundant and healthy the physical, mental, and moral life of society; it creates cooperative attitudes which tend to dissipate conflict; and it manifests the indissolubility of social unity.

The last section deals with human efficiency, or the sociology of the division of labor.

M. H. N.

THE HOUSING OF NEGROES IN WASHINGTON, D. C. By WILLIAM H. JONES. Howard University Press, Washington, D. C., 1929, pp. 191.

The ecological approach that is developed in this survey is its most valuable feature. In making an ecological study of the Negro in a given community the author has blazed a new trail. The first three chapters (out of a total of seven) deal with the origin and natural history of the Negro housing problem in Washington, D. C., with the place of the Negro population in the ecological organization of Washington, and with the structural and functional aspects of the Negro community. The "alley" type of housing, peculiar in an extensive way to Washington and to a few other cities is analyzed thoroughly. Five reasons are given why people live in alleys instead of on streets,—because they are ignorant and poor, because they want to be free from public control, because they are the victims of a social habit, because of strong sentimental attachments, and because of the desire for security, and the fear of change. A number of reasons are cited why white people do not like to live with Negroes: (1) the fear of public opinion among other white people, (2) a lack of like-mindedness due to different physical characteristics, (3) awareness of identification with one's own race or nationality, (4) differences in cultural backgrounds, (5) fear of racial intermarriage and the resultant breakdown of racial integrity. Five types of white people, however, were found living with white people; the range of interesting facts might be extended at length. This important racial and housing treatise closes with a number of suggestions that may well receive more than thoughtful consideration, not only in Washington, D. C., but elsewhere.

E. S. B.

**FOUNDATIONS OF MENTAL HEALTH.** By LEONARDO BIANCHI. Appleton and Company, New York, 1930, pp. 277.

This book is a translation from the Italian. Its presentation of subject matter is from the standpoint of the Italian writer and the statistics used as illustrations are largely drawn from Italian sources. In addition to Mental Hygiene, the writer has also discussed eugenics, sex education, alcoholism and the penal code. He contends that laws are ineffective and that a eugenic program depends on education. He does not take kindly to sterilization as a remedy. He favors sex education, but is opposed to lectures in the school. He believes that the teacher can confer privately with pupils and that the parish priest can also be helpful. The physician however, should prove the most efficient for this service. At present parents cannot overcome the inhibitions against the discussion of the subject.

The author recognizes the harmful effects of alcoholism, but indicates that intoxication is not common among the Italian people. However, he would promote measures for the reduction of liquor consumption and would educate communities against the harmfulness of alcohol.

Since the family and school constitute the "mental hygienic" environment of children, the great burden of preventing neurasthenia depends upon these institutions. More psychiatric hospitals and clinics are needed for diagnosis and care, and a wider variety of insane patients should be given treatment. The author also finds the Italian penal system unsatisfactory. He favors deportation of certain criminals to a penal colony and improvement of the prison plans at home. Criminality must also be fought more effectively.

This book is of interest to American readers. Much of it sounds like American thinking, some of it is stated so cautiously and conservatively as to indicate that the Italian reader is less ready to listen to certain discussions than is the American.

G. B. M.

**MAHATMA GANDHI'S IDEAS** (Including selections from his writings). By C. F. ANDREWS. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1930, pp. 382. This book is the first to be completed of two volumes by C. F. Andrews which deal with the life and ideas of Mahatma Gandhi. There are two parts to the book, one dealing with Gandhi's religious environment and the other with the historical setting of his life. At the beginning of the volume is found a short list of Indian words which occur frequently in the narrative, and any further difficulties for the Western reader are explained in footnotes and appendices. The book is a personality portrait, done not so much by what Mr. Andrews himself thinks, but largely through Gandhi's own words and writings which the author has selected and incorporated into his book; thus we get Gandhi's own interpretation of his aims and ideals. Gandhi believes in the Hindu religion; this religion has been the greatest of all influences in shaping his ideas and actions. From his devout and constant reading of the Hindu Scriptures, Tolstoy's writings, and the Sermon on the Mount, there has become deeply rooted in his nature the belief in the sacredness of all life, a love for the poor and oppressed, and the conviction that he must identify himself with the lowliest. These, then, to a very great extent, are the bases for the following principles which Gandhi follows: Ahimsa, which is passive resistance or non-violence; Khaddar, or homespun cloth; the removal of the "untouchable" class; Swadeshi, or that spirit which restricts one to the use and service of one's immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more "remote"; Swaraj, or self-government; and Hindu-Muslim Unity, which would have the followers of two such diverse religious beliefs uniting together in one common Indian nation. To read Mr. Andrews' book is to understand and appreciate the great spiritual leader in India today.

M.F.B.

**THE RISE OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION.** By CHARLES A. BEARD and MARY R. BEARD. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1930, pp. xv+824+828. Two volumes in one. The authors have broken away from traditional histories and refuse "to treat life as an inorganic one-thing after-another." They see human life as a process of evolution, and civilization as an expression of cultural heritage. History on its negative side is three dimensional: it disposes of the idea that nations are moral personalities; it is ruinous to think of civilizations as "a kind of garment which willful men and women insist on wearing out of ignorance or conceit"; it "offers no tribute to chauvinistic vanities." It is human society from the interior to which the authors direct our attention. Their treatment of American civilization is illustrated, for example, by the fact that they do not accept the American Revolution simply as an indignant uprising of a virtuous people against a cruel King George nor as told sometimes in England as "a violent outcome of lawless efforts on the part of bucolic clowns." The style has an epic swing, and the thought keeps the reader alert and stimulated.

E. S. B.

**SAVONAROLA.** By PIERO NUSCIATELLI. Translated by M. Peters-Roberts. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1930, pp. xi+273. Savonarola lives again. In this stirring account, Savonarola "irradiated with the halo of martyrdom," lives as a noble mystic, and a courageous exponent of a holy religious and political faith. As a youth, Savonarola engaged in fastings and meditations, played sad and mournful tunes on a lute, fell desperately in love but was rejected with his dreams for a home shattered. He then turned to the monastery and committed himself to a life directed against the iniquity of man and toward the worship of God. Unflinchingly, he pursues one course, living in communion with God and attacking evil in church and society until his enemies bring about his death at the age of 46. Persecution and trial he saw as necessary for the development of character. Martyrdom crowned his unconquerable faith, his unselfishness, his courageous attacks on evil with immortality.

E. S. B.

**SURVEY OR COLLEGE ENTRANCE CREDITS AND COLLEGE COURSES IN MUSIC.** National Bureau for the Advancement of Music, New York City, 1930, pp. vi+209.

**HOW WORKERS SPEND A LIVING WAGE.** Cost of Living Studies II. By JESSICA B. PEIXOTTO. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1929, pp. vii+169-245. A study of the incomes and expenditures of eighty-two typographers' families in San Francisco shows several interesting facts: (1) the random selection of a group representing a single occupation reveals a homogeneous group of settled American middle-aged families, consisting of not more than two children, the wage-earner being in the peak period of earning power; (2) the families were characteristically dependent upon the income from the men's earnings, and these earnings were well above the Department of Labor's budget of 1919, providing an amount of \$2015.56 for the maintenance of a family of five in comfort and decency; and, (3) the detailed expenditures of the families as compared with those of the U. S. survey in 1919 showed that these families "were 'better off' than similar income groups in the country, since the families were small and one wage-earner was able to bring in income enough." It was found by comparison that the differential gains were utilized for food, for better housing, amusements, and union obligations. Thirty-seven per cent of the entire income was spent under the title of miscellaneous disbursements; ninety-five per cent of the group reported sums spent for amusements, about twenty per cent of the group owned automobiles requiring upkeep; fifty-five per cent contributed to churches; forty-eight per cent aided charitable enterprises; ninety-one per cent spent an average sum of \$100 for medical care. Less than five per cent of the income was spent for savings, including insurance, the most characteristic form of investment found. The study presents a picture that should be typical for the American workman; in reality, it is the study of a favored group. It most certainly is an interesting comment upon the advantages of union membership in an established industry. M. J. V.

**FRANCE A NATION OF PATRIOTS.** By CARLTON J. H. HAYES. Columbia University Press, 1930, pp. ix+487. The volume "deals specifically with the means by which Frenchmen of the present day are rendered supremely patriotic, the agencies by which French national psychology is fashioned and fortified," such as government, the educational system, the military, the church, the press, the radio, cinema, and so on. The style is factual and historical, not sociological. Appendices of one hundred and fifty pages contain digests of typical French textbooks, of French periodicals, and of daily newspapers of Paris.

**THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE SPIRIT.** By R. F. WHEELER. Badger, Boston, 1929, pp. 250. The spirit of man is defined as "that portion of his being which is unattached, unrelated, responding to that order of existence which is above sense perception, superior to the limitations of time and space, and therefore eternal." The treatment is philosophical and religious.

**THE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF EXTRA CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES.** By C. V. MULLARD. A. S. Barnes & Co., 1930, pp. xiv+145.

**SYMPOSIUM ON PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND HEALTH.** Compiled and edited by JAY B. NASH. New York University School of Education, 1930, pp. 320.

**THE BEHAVIOR OF YOUNG CHILDREN.** By ETHEL B. WARING and MARQUERITE WILKER. Scribner's Sons, 1930, pp. xii+151.

**STUDENT PUBLICATIONS.** By G. C. WELLS and W. H. McCALLISTER. A. S. Barnes & Co., 1930, pp. x+180.

**POINT SYSTEMS AND AWARDS.** By E. G. JOHNSTON. A. S. Barnes & Co., 1930, pp. xv+160.

**HOME ROOMS.** By E. E. EVANS and M. S. HALLMAN. A. S. Barnes & Co., 1930, pp. viii+154.

**ASSEMBLY PROGRAMS.** By M. C. WAGNER. A. S. Barnes & Co., 1930, pp. xii+142.

## Social Research Notes

Edited by M. H. NEUMAYER

A STUDY OF CRIME IN PEPING. Although the author warns the reader that the statistics of crime in Peping (Peking) are not very reliable, yet the data obtained from fairly reliable sources show that 15,595 criminals were sentenced to confinement by the courts from 1919 to 1927 inclusive. Of these, 92 per cent were male criminals and 8 per cent females, the ratio being 11 to 1. The classification of crimes of men criminals shows that 82.80 per cent were convicted of economic crimes, largely theft (44.11 per cent), misappropriation (8.96 per cent), fraud (8.32 per cent), and the like; 14.20 per cent of crimes of vengeance, with assault and murder heading the list; 2.93 per cent of sexual crimes; and only .06 per cent of crimes against the State. The classification of crimes of women criminals indicate that 73.5 per cent were convicted of economic crimes, under which are listed kidnapping (23.8 per cent), abduction (19.4 per cent), theft, and fraud; 15.00 per cent of sexual crime; 11.29 per cent of crimes of vengeance; and 16.00 per cent of political crimes. A number of figures appear to indicate that the number of male criminals increased rapidly from the age of 16 up to 24; from that point there is a slight decrease up to the age of 29, after which there is a rapid decline. But in the case of women criminals the figures show a gradual increase up to the age of 44, which is the peak year. The great majority of crimes are committed in a few restricted areas in Peping. Little attention is given to juvenile delinquency. There are no reformatories in China, except one semi-official institution in Peping. Yen Ching-yueh, Publication of the Department of Sociology and Social Work, Yenching University, Peping, China, Series C, No. 20, 1929, pp. 29.

RURAL ORGANIZATION AND THE FARM FAMILY. A study of the organization affiliation and behavior of 282 farm families, comprising 924 persons of organization age (ten years or over), in twelve selected rural school districts of five Wisconsin counties. Both the statistical and the case methods were used. Organizations centered in the districts or reaching persons within them, range from 12 to

25 in number for the high organization districts, and from 8 to 14 in the low organization districts. Of the factors examined for their relation to organization behavior, those pertaining to educational and cultural facilities and activities (periodicals taken, books owned and borrowed, time spent in reading, etc.), bear a more positive relation than such factors as distance from recognized trade centers, type of roads, years of residence, church affiliation, size of family and ages of persons composing them, the size of farm, and business resources. Cultural traditions, nationality backgrounds, community groupings, and promotion and encouragement also play important parts in organization behavior. E. L. Kirkpatrick, J. H. Kolb, C. Inge and A. F. Wileden, Research Bulletin 96, Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Wisconsin and the United States Department of Agriculture, 1929, pp. 56.

A HISTORICAL STUDY OF MIGRATION STATISTICS. "In spite of the apparent abundance of information, the history of migration movements is still very imperfectly known." The International Labor Office and the Social Science Research Council of the United States are collaborating in collecting migration statistics for every country in the world since the beginning of such figures, especially since the beginning of the nineteenth century, covering all migration movements, both continental and intercontinental, irrespective of the nationality, class, or race. Mass migration really began in 1816, after the devastation wrought by war, followed by bad harvest, crushing taxation, administrative abuses, and religious and political discontent. These early migrations, however, involved comparatively few people. The first wave of European emigration, largely to the United States, ceased as quickly as it had begun. But soon other waves of migrations occurred. The period 1830-1850 was one of the most important phases of proletariat migration. Economic uncertainty and political and religious discontent in the country of departure were the chief causes of migration. Since 1850, the period of greatest migration the attraction of overseas countries began to make itself strongly felt and had soon a predominant effect on the volume of emigration. Better means of transportation not only speeded up emigration but developed also a current of repatriation. The statistical description of intercontinental migration movements pertains largely to the period from 1820 to 1924. Inre Ferenczi, *International Labor Review*, September, 1929, pp. 356-384.

**CONTACTS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY.** A study was made of primary contacts during a period of three months in a mid-western agricultural community covering an area of 52 square miles and containing 1297 people, 314 of whom lived in an incorporated village located at the center. The main method used was that of record-keeping of attendance at all contact events in the community, supplemented by a questionnaire and other methods of counting and checking. There were approximately 187,000 contacts within the community exclusive of trade contacts. Of the total, 58.3 per cent were educational contacts of school children, 29.1 per cent were social contacts due to visiting, and 12.6 per cent were of all other types. The people had three times as many contacts within as without the community. The outside contacts were largely of a recreation nature. Some 26.7 per cent had no contacts outside of the community. In general, the village people experienced more contacts than did the country people. Organizations produced 76.3 contacts per capita as compared with 46 contacts per capita produced by unorganized activities. A study was made of road possibility but there was found to be no correlation between the condition of roads and number of contacts. Henry Burt, Research Bulletin 125, Agriculture Experiment Station of the University of Missouri and United States Department of Agriculture, 1929, pp. 75.

**THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN RURAL COMMUNITY LIFE IN VIRGINIA.** A state-wide survey was made of the conditions and tendencies of the rural churches, including an analysis of the size and distribution of churches, financial support, aims and methods of religious education, church relations of rural young people, leaders and leadership training, the rural minister, community relations and a study of typical churches. The data were obtained mainly from the unpublished material of the United States Census of religious bodies (1926), from denominational reports, and by means of numerous questionnaires and six months' field study. Virginia has 6,500 rural churches, with 2,000 ministers, 800,000 members (45.4 per cent of the rural population), over \$34,000,000 invested in property and more than \$7,000,000 are required annually to finance rural church work. The study is particularly concerned with the relation of the church to the community. C. H. Hamilton and W. E. Garnett, Bulletin 267, Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, June, 1929, pp. 191.

**THE RECREATION INTERVIEW.** The Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research has worked out a recreation interview technique during the past eight years to study the 1,200 children which come to the Institute each year for examination. It would be difficult to find one cause or symptom common to them all, but aside from the necessity of maintaining life, perhaps the greatest common denominator of them all is play. An understanding of the child's play life is an important phase of the diagnosis of a case. This information is obtained by means of a recreation interview. The examiner talks with the child about the play activities he has experienced and which he enjoys. It is not unusual to hear such spontaneous expressions as, "This is a lot of fun"; "I like to talk this way"; "This is good stuff." In addition to actual performance, his philosophy of play is sought. The first report deals with material obtained from interviews with children from 4 to 8 years of age. Subsequent papers will deal with two other age groups, namely: 9 to 12 years and 12 to 16 years. The final paper will discuss the "recreational experiences of parents and their effect upon attitudes toward children's play." Claudia Wannamaker, *The Family*, October, 1929, pp. 181-186.

**THE INSTITUTE OF METHODS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH.** This institute was held at Washington, D.C., December 31, 1929 to January 4, 1930, under the auspices of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and was called by the Sub-Committee on Rural Social Organization of the Joint Committee on Projects and Correlation of Research of the Association of the Land-Grant Colleges and Universities. The primary object of this gathering was to discuss some of the national cooperative research projects, to diagnose methods of rural social research, and to afford opportunity to those in attendance to examine equipments and methods of work in certain of the government departments. The papers and reports of committees pertain to standards of living, rural community organization, social attitudes, population studies. Edited by Dean A. R. Man, mimeographed report, United States Department of Agriculture, February, 1930, pp. 23.

## International Notes

DIFFERENT METHODS OF CROWD CONTROL were well demonstrated in the international unemployment processions held in many of the larger cities all over the world on March 6. In many cities repressive methods brought results such as might have been expected. Rioting broke out, heads were broken, some persons were killed, and hundreds were arrested.

In other cities, such as Chicago and San Francisco, the demonstrations were permitted and aided by the police and no trouble developed. An Associated Press dispatch from San Francisco to the *Los Angeles Times* reads:

"In marked contrast to repressive measures imposed in some other communities, police here aided in formation of the parade up Market street to the City Hall, in which some 2200—white, black, and yellow—men, women and children participated. Traffic on the city's 120-foot wide thoroughfare was held back that the demonstration might go on. Chief of Police Quinn joined the parade for a time.

"In the Civic Center Mayor Rolph had had a temporary rostrum built and a public address system installed for the occasion. A court reporter was on hand to make a record of every word spoken. The leaders of the demonstration presented their demands; the Mayor promised he would study them and transmit them next Monday to the Board of Supervisors, and the paraders disbanded.

"There was no disturbance. The paraders sang as they marched along, and the crowds on the sidewalks watched and smiled. Many followed on to the City Hall, where the throng totaled between 5,000 and 6,000."

RUSSIA IS BECOMING LITERATE reports the *New York Times*. Elementary schools have been multiplied in great numbers. These schools enrolled 7,000,000 children in 1914, 9,500,000 in 1928, and by 1933 it is planned to have the total up to 17,000,000, which will include nearly all children between the ages of 8 and 11 years. Adult education is likewise on the increase. "Reading huts" are being established by the thousands, as are also both fixed and traveling

libraries and various types of advanced schools. And the radio and the cinema are being used more and more in various ways to lift the general cultural level of the masses.

CHINA, as indicated by the reports, is in a very bad way. Swept by war, robbery, and famine many of her people are suffering intensely. Repeated warfare has impoverished and disorganized large sections of the country. Discharged soldiers have found it difficult to obtain work, and many of them have joined robber bands that move through the country districts pillaging the village folk as they go. In the north and west there have been several crop failures in succession; an unusually bad winter, with deep snow, made it impossible for the famished people to forage for roots and fuel; as a result great numbers have starved or frozen to death. And now civil war is brewing again. Rebel armies are being gathered in the northern and southern parts of the country, and as the warmer weather comes on fighting is likely to begin.

BRITAIN IS CHANGING HER POOR RELIEF SYSTEM established by Queen Elizabeth over three hundred years ago, according to the *Christian Science Monitor*. The old, overlapping, local scheme under which public relief funds were distributed by elected "guardians," will give way to a modern system which puts distribution of the funds into the hands of those governing bodies which formerly raised these funds. The new plan does not affect the dole.

IN INDIA the campaign of civil disobedience against the British government is on its way. Many Gandhi followers have violated the monopolistic salt laws and some arrests have been made. The leaders of the movement have been successful on the whole in keeping violence in check. Clashes, however, have been reported from various parts of the country, and it is held probable that they will become more serious as time goes on.

KOREANS AND JAPANESE HAVE AGAIN CLASHED in Korea. Newspaper reports of the matter have been meager due to rigid censorship. A Korean student bulletin states that the trouble started in a clash between Japanese and Korean students and then spread to the whole country in the form of an independence movement. It now appears that the Japanese have the situation well under control.

**CHILD MARRIAGES IN INDIA ARE NOW ILLEGAL.** Says the *Los Angeles Herald*, "The new statute in India puts marriage on a higher plane even than in many commonwealths of the United States. In India hereafter there is absolute prohibition of marriages of boys under 18 and girls under 14. The penalties are severe, and, barring the occasional violation which is experienced in the case of any law, it is expected to win speedy approval."

"Doubtless many Americans who have been horrified to read of child marriages in India are entirely unaware that the Russell Sage Foundation, after an exhaustive investigation, reported in 1925 that in this country 'approximately 343,000 women and girls today began their married life as child brides (of 16 or less) within the last 36 years.' Of those who married that young before 1890 no account was taken."

R. M. Y.

## Social Fiction and Drama Notes

**RED RUST.** A Play in Three Acts. By V. KIRCHON and A. Ous-PENSKY. Adapted by V. and F. Vernon. Brentano's, New York, 1930, pp. 182.

*Red Rust* is indeed a fascinating play to read, and for the American reader, at least, the interest becomes keener with the realization that it bears the stamp of performance at the Moscow State Proletarian Theatre. In America, the Theatre Guild of New York presented the play during the current season. One is led to believe that the portrayal of life in present day Russia is somewhat authentic. So far as the actual story goes, it might have taken place anywhere. The chief interest does not, however, lie in the story, but in the background furnished for the denouement. This is not to say that the plot is not effectively told, for it is highly effective in a fine theatrical sense. The tomb of Lenin continuously arises to cast its glow over the exuberance of the sons and daughters of the new order in Russia. It may be propaganda, but it is propaganda of no mean and lowly order, nor of a stilted and didactic style.

The regime of the Communists is photographed in the light of its ideals and the means to their attainment; one suspects that here the ideal is akin to the Idea of Plato, the ultimate reality for the only true happiness. But alas, it is the fate of all ideals caught by human entities and apotheosized by them, to fail because of the frailties of the makers in their strivings. And the authors, who are not completely convinced of the powers of the framers of this particular set of ideals to execute them, have caught this failure with rare insight. For in the play, it is the lustful and villainous Terekhine who uses his political position in the new order for his own acquisitive and sensual purposes, thrusting aside ruthlessly those who still have the good of the mass at heart. Thus, a weakness of all idealistic movements is revealed, the group ideals are loftier than the ideals of those who compose the group; it is difficult to find a group manipulator who is willing to be effaced for the good of the group.

There are many sharp thrusts at the bourgeoisie scattered throughout the play, and not a few at the expense of the Communists them-

selves. The proletarians recall to themselves: "People will go on being fools." And the new order is assailed in such neat little innuendoes as: "Which is more despicable, the old God of the White Russians whom we have kicked . . . out of our country, or the new bureaucratic portfolio of the Communist party who are strangling us with their red tape?" The problems of the new marriage-and-easy divorce codes are revealed, and here again, we find that old monogamic ideal with its concomitant, parental love, interferes. Cultural lag is a thing to conjure with. The play is the first Soviet drama of any importance to have emerged from Russia, and one who is interested in what's going on in Moscow can ill afford to avoid reading the play.

M. J. V.

THE WOMAN OF ANDROS. By THORNTON WILDER. Albert and Charles Boni, New York, 1930, pp. 162.

Another philosophical novel by this author, and one of the most beautiful books it has been my good fortune to read. The characters seem vivid and dynamic, and each teaches us something of Greek life and attitudes of two thousand years ago, but in such fashion that direct application can be made to present-day situations. The power of the father in the Greek household, the materialistic and traditional views of marriage and other culture-clusters, the egoism and provincialism of Greek citizenship, the significance of property, family, and other institutions and the difficulty of changing social status in the face of Greek customs and mores, are some of the phases of sociological interest. The lessons drawn have a significance that is universal, however, regardless of time or place. The situations in which the leading characters find themselves range from the highest and most respected to the lowliest and most hopeless, with excellent illustrations of social distance. The theme of the book shows the good in all and idealizes the effort so to live as to "praise all living, the bright and the dark" in this world of ours, which, after all, is too dear to be realized by man who is "not strong enough to love every moment."

J. E. N.

## Social Photoplay Notes

THERE IS in process in Los Angeles at the present time a culture fusion of which few are aware. It is taking place in the so-called motion picture colony between Russians and Americans in a manner that lends itself readily to objective study.

Following the Russian Revolution there came to Los Angeles many refugees; members of the old aristocracy, bringing with them nothing save their talent. Among them were artists, dancers, musicians, singers, prominent in Russia, but unknown here. At first they had no status, being forced to do menial tasks for a living. Yet they forgot not their art: they organized a Russian American Art Club for the purpose of showing Americans some of the better things in Russian food, art, and music, as well as affording a center for Russian affairs.

The club was a success. Some of the motion picture people attending became interested, and began drawing upon Russian talent. The process of assimilation was set under way. Due to the numerous foreign scenes in American pictures and a growing demand in foreign markets for talking pictures, the process is taking place with increasing rapidity. To the observer, the work of these people is not apparent at once. They are behind the scenes, so to speak. Some of them write scenarios, others design sets. Dance ensembles and ballet numbers are quite likely to be under Russian direction. In military and court scenes Russian settings are quite frequently utilized. Vocal choruses are selected from among these people, as well as extras. Probably few realize that the soft music from the unseen orchestra that weaves threadlike through many pictures is often the product of talented Russian musicians. The make-believe world of the movies is quite suited to these people who tended to be the dreamers in their old country.

A visit to the Russian Art Club reveals a rather unique picture. People of every ken, American and Russian, are found there. The cuisine is no longer strictly Russian, the Russian singer encores his folksong with a jazz number, and Russian levity is mixed with American "whoopee"; but most significant of all is the fact that movie values have become dominant. Pictures and actors are the major theme of conversation. And, if one inquires who that was who sang so beautifully, one is no longer told that he was one of the principals in the Old Imperial Opera; instead one is informed that he is working at present in a picture with Gloria Swanson at two hundred dollars per week. The movies have restored a lost status. G. D. N.